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ABSTRACT

Beginning in 1994, various national and First Nations initiatives in Canada have increased the availability of child care for Aboriginal children. However, the speed of these initiatives has not allowed time for First Nations communities to define their wishes for the care of their children. This report documents the opinions of First Nations communities on quality child care and presents recommendations for program development. An extensive literature review examines Canada's Aboriginal population, the historical context of Aboriginal-White relations in Canada, the need for Aboriginal child care services, traditional child-rearing practices, First Nations jurisdiction and authority in child care, research on quality child care, and diversity issues in child care. Interviews with key informants and focus groups in First Nations communities were conducted in British Columbia, Saskatchewan, and Ontario, which have very different contexts in terms of provincial legislation and licensing and the extent and duration of First Nations child care programs. Participants identified historical, social, and political influences affecting development of Aboriginal child care services; aspects of quality child care related to the physical environment, caregivers, caregiver training, educational and cultural programming, content of teaching, parent and community involvement, and child grouping; and supports and barriers created by child care regulatory schemes. Extensive recommendations are offered in each of these areas and are summarized in tabular form. Appendices include study questionnaires list of Steering Committee members, study permission forms and letters, and individual reports on the three provinces. (Contains 124 references.) (SV)

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First Nations Quality Child Care:

A National Study

Margo Greenwood & Perry Shawana

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

"Grandfather, What is the purpose of life?"

after a long time in thought, the old man looked up and said,

"Grandson, Children are the purpose of life.
We were once children and someone cared for us, and
now it is our time to care."

(Eddie Belleroe, a Cree Elder from Alberta)

These words speak of life and our responsibility to care for our children.
This study is a beginning, a place to start . . .

1.1 Background

We must look to our past for the lessons our grandmothers and grandfathers have taught and to the future for our children.

Customs and traditions that manifest the unique beliefs and values of Aboriginal peoples are passed on from generation to generation through child rearing practices. Children are the heart of the family and community. Child rearing is a sacred and valued responsibility.

> Traditional Aboriginal life provided the conditions for a solid childhood foundation. Babies and toddlers spent their first years within the extended family where parents, grandparents, aunts and uncles, brothers and sisters all shared responsibility for protecting and nurturing them. Traditional Aboriginal child-rearing practices permitted children to exert their will with little interference from adults. In this environment, children were encouraged to develop as thinking, autonomous beings. At the same time, they acquired language and were integrated into the rhythms of daily life in the family and community.

> In this early stage of development, children learned how to interpret and respond to the world. They learned how to walk on the land, taking in the multiple cues needed to survive as hunters and gatherers; they were conditioned to see the primacy of relationships over material possessions; they discovered that they had special gifts that would define their place in and contribution to the family and community. From an early age, playing at the edge of adult work and social activities, they learned that dreams, visions and legends were as important to learning as practical instruction in how to build a boat or tan a hide. (Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, Vol. 2, 1996, p. 446-447)

Many of these traditional child rearing practices still exist in Aboriginal families today despite the impact of five generations of residential schooling followed by decades of child welfare apprehensions. Elders, parents and community members talk about the need for child care services to reflect the customs, traditions, values and beliefs of Aboriginal peoples, children must know who they are, they must be grounded in their culture, language and traditions (Assembly of First Nations, 1995).

Child care services for Aboriginal people across Canada began in 1994 with the announcement of the *First Nations/Inuit Child Care Initiative* and the *Urban and Northern Head Start Program,* a commitment born out of the Liberal Party's pre-election "Red Book". These programs were charged with creating spaces and providing services to Aboriginal peoples on and off reserve where in the past there were virtually none. The need for Aboriginal child care services was reiterated in the 1996 *Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples.*

A second *Head Start Program* was announced in 1997 this time for on reserve children. In the same year the *National Children's Agenda* was announced. This multi-year agenda represents a unique collaboration between the federal, provincial and territorial governments in their common desire to support the well-being of Canada's children. Since the announcement a document entitled, *National Children's Agenda, A Shared Vision* (1998) has been presented to focus groups across the country. *Section IV* of this document presents an Aboriginal perspective. It speaks to the constitutional rights of First Nations, Metis and Inuit people and the diversity of Aboriginal peoples in Canada. Likewise it speaks to the needs of Aboriginal children. This initiative will continue throughout the year 2000 with new strategies and initiatives to be implemented in the years to come.

While the *National Children's Agenda* comes into being, Aboriginal people are in the midst of developing and implementing formalized child care services. In four short years, over 16,000 new child care spaces were created largely through the implementation of the *First Nations Inuit Child Care Initiative* and *Aboriginal Head Start Programs*. The expediency of these initiatives did not allow for development time in which First Nations communities could define the care of their children and the form those ideas would take in service delivery. Early in the development of the *First Nations Inuit Child Care Initiative* an Elder asked, "are we developing residential

schools in the hearts of our communities for our little ones?" (Personal Communication, October 1995) This fear of re-establishing residential schools along with its underlying goal of assimilation is a constant one, one that whispers gently throughout this research reminding us of the necessity for our work. The need for defining First Nations quality child care remains despite implementation of programs. This project is a beginning to meeting that need.

1.2 Purpose of This Report

This study is designed to provide a vehicle for communities to articulate the nature and structure of child care in their community. The purpose of this report is to document those voices and their recommendations for quality child care services and options for First Nations jurisdiction in child care.

1.3 Goals and Objectives

The primary goals of this study are to provide First Nations communities with:

1. recommendations for consideration in the development of First Nations quality child care program implementation models; and
2. options for First Nations jurisdiction in child care.

The specific objectives include:

1. to examine the social, political and historical context of First Nations communities relative to the establishment of child care services;
2. to identify the source and scope of First Nations jurisdiction;
3. to determine what First Nations communities perceive as quality care for their children;
4. to identify indicators of quality services in First Nations child care programs;
5. to identify processes that are a part of First Nations quality child care and create a framework for implementation of those processes; and
6. to identify barriers and supports that existing legislation and policy present for developing First Nations quality child care programs and responses to those barriers identified.

1.4 Chapters in This Report

There are five chapters in this report including this one. They are:

Chapter 1 - Introduction
This chapter provides a brief overview of Aboriginal child care in Canada and introduces the following chapters.

Chapter 2 - Literature Review
There are two major sections in this chapter. Section one introduces Aboriginal child care in detail and includes the following categories:

1) the context: population and diversity of Aboriginal peoples, historical overview of Aboriginal - non-Aboriginal relations in Canada and development of Aboriginal child care services;
2) the vision: the need for child care services, traditional child rearing practices, and a vision for Aboriginal child care services; and
3) jurisdiction and authority in child care: legal responsibility for child care, the Aboriginal right to exercise law making authority in child care, and an overview of First Nations options to assume responsibility for child care.

Section two provides an overview of quality child care in the mainstream including:

1) an historical overview of mainstream child care research and description of quality care; and
2) a section on diversity in child care.

Chapter 3 - Methodology
This chapter describes the process and methods used in this research study including:

1) steering committee;
2) sample selection;
3) survey instruments;
4) data collection; and
5) participation rates.

Chapter 4 - Results
The results of this study are divided into four sections including:

1) a description of the regional context;
2) influences on child care;
3) aspects of quality child care services; and
4) legislative aspects of child care.

There are numerous categories within each section that describe the responses from study participants.

Chapter 5 - Discussion and Recommendations

This chapter is divided into four main sections:

1) aspects of First Nations quality child care: the context and intent of First Nations child care services, community and parent involvement, environment, caregivers and children's program;
2) historical, social and political influences on First Nations child care services;
3) supports and barriers presented by current legislation; and
4) jurisdiction and authority in First Nations child care.

Each section discusses key findings and present specific recommendations.

There are a number of terms used throughout this report that require clarification. First Nations and Aboriginal people are used interchangeably and intended to include persons who self-identify as such (whether they are registered as 'status' Indians or not). This definition does not include Metis and Inuit peoples.

The reference to jurisdiction throughout the report is intended to mean law making authority that is paramount or on equal footing with other recognized levels of government powers to make laws. In the purest sense, jurisdiction is an expression of the self-determining status of independent Nations states. In this report the reference to jurisdiction also includes the exercise of law making authority within a constitutional context - where powers to make laws are divided between levels of government.

Participants in this research were primarily involved in the development and delivery of child care services on Indian reserve lands. This report records the voices of persons living on Indian reserve lands across Canada, and does not purport to speak on behalf of persons living outside reserve lands, whether they are registered 'status' Indians or self-identify as an Aboriginal person.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter contains two primary sections. Section one examines Aboriginal child care, while section two reviews mainstream child care literature. Each section is divided into numerous categories. Section one, Aboriginal child care, examines: 1) the context including: population and diversity of Aboriginal peoples, historical overview of Aboriginal - non-Aboriginal relations in Canada and development of Aboriginal child care services; 2) the vison including: the need for child care services, traditional child rearing practices and a vision for Aboriginal child care services; and 3) authority in child care including: the Constitution Acts and First Nations source and scope of authority over child care services.

Section two, quality child care provides an overview of mainstream research into quality child care including: 1) an historical overview of child care research and description of quality care; and 2) diversity in child care.

ABORIGINAL CHILD CARE

2.1 The Context

To better understand the complexity of contemporary Aboriginal child care in Canada it is necessary to have an understanding of: 1) the population and diversity of Aboriginal people, 2) the history of Aboriginal - non-Aboriginal relations and 3) the recent development of child care services for Aboriginal children.

2.1.1 Population and Diversity of Aboriginal People

There is great diversity amongst Aboriginal people in Canada. The term Aboriginal itself hides the distinctiveness of Canada's First People - Inuit, Metis and First Nations. Many cultural and linguistic differences exist amongst the groups themselves, for example there are more than 50 distinct linguistic groupings amongst First Nations peoples in Canada. The purpose of these next pages is to provide a context for the section entitled, *Historical Overview of Aboriginal - Non-Aboriginal Relations in Canada*. The information for this section is taken primarily from *The Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, 1996, Vol. 1, p. 11-23.*

2.1.1. a Historical Population

Dickason (1993) reports in *The Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, 1996, Vol. 1, p.12,* there were approximately 500,000 Indigenous peoples at the time of sustained contact with Europeans. All of the land that was to eventually become Canada was inhabited. The following map taken from *The Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, 1996, Vol. 1, p. 18* illustrates the tribal and linguistic distribution of Indigenous people in and near Canada.

-- Insert Figure 1 here--

The number of Indigenous people was drastically reduced as a direct result of diseases introduced by Europeans to North America. They had no defence against diseases such as small pox, tuberculosis, influenza and scarlet fever. Starvation and wars also helped to reduce the Indigenous population.

By 1871 the Aboriginal population had been reduced to 100,000. It was not until the 1980s before the Aboriginal people would once again reach 500,000. The following graph outlines the decline and rise of the Aboriginal population from 1500-1996.

-- Insert Graph 1 here –

2.1.1. b Current Population

The 1991 *Aboriginal People's Survey* reported that there were 720,000 Aboriginal people in Canada.

-- Insert Table 1 here –

Registered Aboriginal people under the *Indian Act* represent 56 different cultural linguistic groups. These do not include Inuit dialects.

-- Insert Tables 2 and 3 here –

It is significant to note that the tables reflect Aboriginal persons registered as 'Indians' and does not include non-registered 'Indians'. There is a much larger population that self-identify as Aboriginal people who are not reflected in the tables.

The tables, graph and figure presented in this section illustrate the drastic decline in Aboriginal peoples after contact with Europeans and their gradual increase in number to 1996. They also depict the diversity of languages and cultures that exist amongst Aboriginal people. Against this backdrop colonial and federal governments designed and implemented *Indian Policy*.

2.1.2 Historical Overview of Aboriginal - Non-Aboriginal Relations in Canada

Knowledge of Aboriginal people prior to contact with European peoples is very limited. Most of this knowledge is housed in the minds of Elders and members of First Nations communities. Before the 1500s Aboriginal societies in the Americas and non-Aboriginal societies in Europe developed along separate paths. Many different languages, cultures and social traditions evolved.

For the Europeans the 1500s were an age of exploration and empire building. Their arrival and settlement in the Americas brought about great change for Aboriginal people. Chief Justice John Marshal of the United States Supreme Court wrote in Worcester v. Georgia, (1832), 31 U.S. 530 (U.S.S.Ct.) that Aboriginal peoples were independent with land rights and their own political systems and laws. In his decision Justice Marshal noted that:

> America, separated from Europe by a wide ocean, was inhabited by a distinct people, divided into separate nations, independent of each other and the rest of the world, having institutions of their own, and governing themselves by their own laws. It is difficult to comprehend ... that the discovery of either by the other should give the discoverer rights in the country discovered which annulled the previous rights of its ancient possessors.
>
> Aboriginal cultures were shaped by the environment and technology as it evolved. The plentiful resources of sea and forest enabled west coast peoples to build societies of wealth and sophistication.
>
> On the prairies and northern tundra, Aboriginal peoples lived in close harmony with vast, migrating herds of buffalo and caribou.
>
> In the forests of central Canada, Aboriginal peoples harvested wild rice from the marshes and grew corn, squash and beans beside the river banks, supplementing their crops by fishing, hunting and gathering.
>
> On the east coast and in the far north, the bounty of the sea and land - and their own ingenuity - enabled Aboriginal peoples to survive in harsh conditions.
>
> The Americas were not, as the Europeans told themselves when they arrived, terra nullius - empty land.

As a result of colonization Aboriginal nations were stripped of power and authority over even the basics of life. Policies developed by Europeans, from a European perspective drove the colonization process just as it continues to drive current day Indian policy. In his article entitled, *Protection, Civilization, Assimilation: an Outline History of Canada's Indian Policy*, Tobias (1991) offers an overview of Canada's Indian Policy from the time of contact until the early 1970s. The following paragraphs summarize that history.

The first goal of imperial Indian Policy was "protection of the Indians" against European encroachment on their land and the prevention of fraudulent trading practices between Indians and Whites. This policy evolved as a direct result of the British government's need to ally itself with the Indians against the French for supremacy in North America. Indian superintendents were appointed to take care of these matters as well as give out annual gifts. Later, boundary lines were drawn between Indian lands and European settlements, which could only be altered by the crown making treaties with the Indians for surrender of their title to the land. These policies were incorporated into the *Royal Proclamation of 1763*.

The *Royal Proclamation of 1763* formed the basis of Indian Policy for more than 50 years. The British maintained the Indians as allies while at the same time continued to purchase Indian title to lands needed for European settlement and/or economic exploitation.

In the early 1800s British policy began to change from protecting Indians to one of "civilizing" them. This policy evolved slowly as a result of propaganda in North America made by Protestant sects. Many religious sects established missions among the Indians just as they had for generations throughout Europe and Asia. Some of the first orders were Jesuit and Catholic who came with the dual purpose of teaching the Indians a new religion and encouraging them to adopt European values.

Civilization experiments were undertaken by the British. One of these experiments was the establishment of remote, isolated Indian reserves where Indians were encouraged to gather and settle. Here they would learn to farm as well as receive an education and religious instruction. This was the beginning of "the reserve system." Legislation was passed in colonial assemblies to support this purpose.

> By 1850, Indian lands were given special status by being protected from trespassing by non-Indians and by being freed from seizure for non-payment of debt and taxes. In fact, Indian lands were designated as being held in trust by the crown and free from taxation. Finally, to protect the Indian from being debauched by certain circumstances of civilization, a ban on the sale of liquor to Indians was legislated. (p.129)

In some respects legislation in Upper and Lower Canada differed. In Lower Canada the Catholic Church had well established infrastructures aimed at civilizing Indians so much less political involvement was needed. Legislation in Lower Canada, however contained sections that greatly assisted the civilization policy, including the power of government to define who was and was not an Indian. This definition

> included all persons of Indian ancestry and all persons married to such persons, belonging to or recognized as belonging to an Indian, and living with that band. Subsequent legislation would modify this definition by requiring that ancestry and membership would have to be traced through the male line, and marriage would only grant status if a non-Indian woman married an Indian man.

> ...this act of 1850 established the precedent that non-Indians determined who was an Indian and that Indians would have no say in the matter. (p.129)

Also by 1850 the reserve experiment was deemed to be impractical and a failure. Instead of ending the experiment the British government decided they had failed because of isolation from Euro-Canadian communities. Colonial governments asked, how could Indians become "civilized" without an example of what they should be? In order to achieve the goal of assimilation

> it was thought necessary to give the Indian special legislative status in order that he could be indoctrinated with European values and thereby made capable of being assimilated. (p. 130)

In 1869 the goals of civilization and assimilation were formally legislated in an *Act For The Gradual Enfranchisement of The Indian*. Where colonial legislation had as its goal the gradual civilization of Indians, this new *Act* set out the gradual enfranchisement of Indians as its ultimate aim. If Indians could become civilized they could eventually be assimilated into the Euro-Canadian communities. This shift in legislation was based on the notion that the ultimate goal of enfranchisement legislation was to replace Aboriginal governance structures with political systems that mirrored European governance systems. The shift in focus from civilization to enfranchisement is demonstrated by "the power the Governor-in-Council was given to impose the Euro-Canadian political ideal of elected local government on an Indian band and to remove from office those considered unqualified or unfit to hold it." (p. 131) This *Act* was to provide further instruction in Euro-Canadian values.

> This extensive education in what was regarded as the more sophisticated aspects of European civilization was to be provided by a paternalistic government which would lead the Indian away from his "inferior" political system. (p. 131)

Canada's Indian policies developed through the 1870s culminating in an *Act to Amend and Consolidate the Laws Respecting Indians* known as *The Indian Act of 1876* in its abbreviated form. This new *Act* incorporated all the early protectionist policies and established more stringent requirements for non-Indian use of Indian land. While the new *Act* recognized 'custom councils' those Indian bands that did choose to elect local government were given greater authority than those Indian bands with custom councils. Regardless of the how local government was selected the government retained authority over the number of councillors and chiefs an Indian band could have and who had the right to vote.

A significant feature of this *Act* was the "location ticket". The *Act* allowed the Superintendent-General of Indian Affairs to survey a reserve into individual lots to distribute to those who could read and write English or French, were debt free and of good moral character. After meeting this criteria test a three year probationary period was imposed during which an Indian had to demonstrate that he could use the land as Euro-Canadians did and was 'ready' for membership in Canadian society. Upon successful completion of these tests an Indian could be enfranchised and

given title to the land. An even quicker way for Indians to assimilate was to go to university and earn a degree. They were given a "location ticket" without the probationary period.

> What becomes clearer [in this Act] is the government's determination to make the Indians into imitation Europeans and eradicate the old Indian values through education, religion, new economic and political systems, and a new concept of property. (p. 132)

The *Indian Act* of 1880 gave the Superintendent-General of Indian Affairs the power to impose the elective system on bands. A band council was regarded as "the means to destroy the last vestige of the old tribal system, the traditional political system." (p. 134) The 1884 *Indian Advancement Act* was the tool through which Indians could become more "civilized". This *Act* gave "certain privileges [to] the more advanced bands of Indians of Canada with the view of training them for exercise of Municipal Affairs." (p. 134) It also allowed the Superintendent-General of Indian Affairs or his agent to

> call elections, supervise them, call band meetings, preside over them, record them, advise the band council and participate in the meetings except to vote and adjourn them. In effect the agent directed the political affairs of the band. (p. 134)

This interference in a band's political system soon lead to government's control of the band's resources. Where bands refused to buy into enfranchisement through location tickets, power to allot reserve lands was removed and given to the Superintendent-General. The Superintendent could then lease these lands for revenue purposes which revenue was, in turn, used as government aid to bands.

The *Indian Advancement Act* served to quash any attack on colonial Indian policies and eliminate Indian political, social and religious institutions. The government focussed its efforts on the prohibition of traditional practices, for example, the Sun Dance, Potlatches and Give Away ceremonies. What is even more insidious about this legislation is the prohibition of Indians meeting to discuss claims or raising funds to advance claims.

To speed up their advance on Indian people the government under the guise of protecting them from exploitation used the 1876 *Indian Act* and subsequent amendments to attack traditional Indian sexual, marriage and divorce mores thereby furthering Euro-Canadian values. Sections of the *Act* that related to this goal were: illegitimate children (s. 3), non-band members on the reserve after sundown (Section 13 of the 1884 Amendment, S.C. 1884, c. 27), non-Indians on reserve co-habiting with Indians and Indian women in public houses (s. 7 of the 1876 Amendment, S.C. 1876, c. 34)." (p. 133)

Of equal importance to the "prohibition" legislation imposed by the government was their interest in the education of Indian children. The education of the Indian child was seen as one cornerstone towards the civilizing process the reserve system was to perform.

> ...Since schools on the reserve were not well attended by Indian children, they were regarded as ineffectual instruments of this process. Residential and industrial schools, which removed the child from the detrimental influence of uncivilized parents and Indian traditions, were regarded as better instruments of government policy. Indian parents refused to send their children to such schools because they were long distances from the reserve and alienated the child from his culture. Therefore, in 1884 amendments to the Indian Act were made authorizing the Governor-in-Council to make whatever regulations on the school question he thought necessary and empowering him to commit children to the boarding and industrial schools founded by the government. (p. 136)

The program of directed civilization that characterized Indian Policy in the 1870s was questioned in the 1900's. The creation of Indian reserves which formed the basis of Indian Policy was doubted as an effective way to achieve assimilation. Government officials viewed reserves as prohibiting assimilation and blocking economic development. Amendments to the *Indian Act* in 1906 reflected this viewpoint. The amendments were designed to

> remove the protection the reserve seemed to provide the Indian and to force Indian people off the reserve. Assimilation was no longer regarded as a long term goal; it was one that could be attained immediately if the Indians were removed from the protective environment of the reserve. (p. 136)

The attack on the reserve system began in the 1890s when the Superintendent-General of Indian Affairs was given the power to lease Indian lands for revenue which later included leasing Indian land for mineral exploration, right-of-ways, highways, and railways and lease of unused farmland. Amendments made to the *Indian Act* in the early 1900s allowed government to give cash, up to 50% of the value of the land, as an inducement for a surrender of land for sale. As a result, much reserve land was bought by non-Indians.

Further amendments to the *Indian Act* in the 1920s actively put forth the government's goal of enfranchisement and assimilation. For example, Indians living off reserve were permitted to be enfranchised without the required land. Other amendments drastically increased the number of Indians to be enfranchised by "making it easier for half-breeds who had taken treaty in the West to be enfranchised and [forcing] Indian women married to non-Indians to give up entirely their Indian status". (p. 137)

Assimilation was no longer a voluntary act on the part of Indian people - but rather imposed by government through legislation and their agents.

> The Superintendent-General, at his discretion, was given the power to establish boards of inquiry to examine the fitness of Indians for enfranchisement, without the people making application, report on their fitness for enfranchisement, and the Superintendent-General would then recommend to the governor-in-council that they be enfranchised. (p. 137)

The *Act* also directed that provincial laws, for example those applying to motor vehicles, apply on reserve lands. Compulsory enfranchisement, the breaking down of reserve boundaries both by lease and by sale and by making provincial laws applicable on reserve were all to promote rapid assimilation.

During the period of World War II, 1939-45, little attention was given to Indian matters. Ad hoc policies were developed but no substantive policy development occurred. However, after the war there was a renewed interest in Indian policy, partly as a result of Indians involvement in the war. The public was concerned about the way Indians were treated as second class citizens or less than citizens. They called for a complete revision of the *Indian Act*.

In 1946 a joint committee of Senate and House of Commons was struck to study and make proposals on Canada's Indian administration and the revision to the *Indian Act*. Two years later the committee came back with the same goal as Canada's previous Indian policy - assimilation - but with changes to the methods that had been used to achieve it. Guidelines for the new policy recommended turning responsibilities for services over to the provinces. In doing so, barriers provided by the reserves and the Indians' special status under the constitution would be further eroded making assimilation even easier. Still, Indians and Indian reserves were regarded as a transitory feature of Canadian society.

> A revised Indian Act was passed in 1951. This new Act returned to the philosophy of the original Indian Act: civilization was to be encouraged but not directed or forced on the Indian people. Assimilation for all Indians was a goal that should be striven for without an abundance of tests or the compulsory aspects of the preceding Indian Acts. (p. 140)

As in previous versions, the 1951 *Indian Act* did not foster the speedy assimilation of Indian people into Euro-Canadian society. An alternative needed to be found. One of the recommendations of the joint committee developing the 1951 *Act* was "to turn over responsibility for services to Indians to the provinces." (p. 141) This process began in the 1950s and continued to the late 1960s. The law prohibiting Indians living on reserve from becoming citizens was also eliminated in the 1960s. Citizenship was no longer dependant on acceptable levels of assimilation; Indians could now be both an Indian and a Canadian citizen without having to enfranchise. (Crawford, n.d., p.18)

In 1969 with the transfer of services for Indians to the provinces near completion the federal government brought forth the White Paper on Indian Affairs (1969). The White Paper announced

> the government ['s] ... intention to absolve itself from responsibility for Indian affairs and the special status of Indians and to repeal special legislation relating to Indians - that is, the Indian Act. By adoption of this policy and by repealing the Indian Act the Indian would be assimilated by government fiat, and what the Indian Act of 1876 had sought as a long-term goal - the extirpation of the Indian

and Indian lands - would be realized. (p. 141)

> [It] sought to end the collective rights of Aboriginal people in favour of individual rights. Included were plans to eliminate the protection for reserve lands, to terminate the legal status of Indian peoples, and to have services delivered to them by provincial governments. (Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, 1996, p. 202)

At the same time Aboriginal peoples gathered in strength and formed their own organizations to respond.

Indian people across the country protested the *White Paper* (1969). In response to the *White Paper* the Indian Association of Alberta responded with the *Red Paper*. This document described how Indian peoples with distinct cultures wished to contribute to Canadian society while at the same time exercising political and economic power at the community level. It was also the impetus for the development of the National Indian Brotherhood (1974) which is known as the Assembly of First Nations today.

The federal government was forced to reconsider the *White Paper* (1969) and in 1973 announced its withdrawal. While the *White Paper* (1969) was withdrawn the government continued to pursue its policy of absolving itself from its responsibility for Indians.

Since the introduction of the Trudeau governments's proposed *White Paper* (1969) relations between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal Canadian governments had been rocky and characterized by legislative and constitutional reform attempts to resolve long standing disputes with Aboriginal peoples. The remaining pages of this section summarize the Aboriginal non-Aboriginal relationships as presented in the *Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples* (1996).

In 1969 the federal government established an *Indian Claims Commission*. Commissioner, Lloyd Barber, was given the mandate to review and study grievances concerning Indian land claims. In his 1977 report he described the complexity of issues as follows:

> It is clear that most Indian claims are not simple issues of contractual dispute to be resolved through conventional methods of arbitration and adjudication. They are the most visible part of the much, much more complex question of the relationship between the original inhabitants of this land the powerful cultures which moved upon them. That the past relationship has been unsatisfactory both for [Aboriginal people] and for [Canadian society] cannot be in dispute. There are too many well-documented cases where [Canada] failed to live up to obligations [that were] presumably entered [into in] good faith, and which Indians accepted with equal or greater faith. Satisfactory settlement of these obligations can help provide the means for Indians to regain their independence and play their rightful role as a participating partner in the Canadian future. The claims business is no

> less than the task of redefining and redetermining the place of Indian people in Canadian society. They themselves are adamant that this shall be done, not unilaterally as in the past, but with them as the major partner in the enterprise. (p. 203)

The Supreme Court of Canada in *Calder v. AGBC* , [1973] 4 W.W.R. 1, resulted in the federal government establishing its first land claims policy directed towards settling the comprehensive claims of Aboriginal groups that retained the right to traditional use and occupancy of their lands. The policy has been seriously criticized for requiring that Aboriginal people extinguish their title and rights in exchange for settlement agreements that do not allow for self- government initiatives.

Support for Aboriginal people and their struggles grew across the country. Non-Aboriginal organizations pressed the government to address Aboriginal rights to land and self-determination. This pressure lead to the federal government funding Aboriginal people's organizations.

Following the 1980 Quebec referendum and the failure of the first minister's conference on the constitution the federal government decided to repatriate and amend the constitution. In the repatriation process Aboriginal leaders insisted and were able to successfully ensure that the *Constitution Act, 1982* contain sections that would recognize Aboriginal rights and ensure that individual rights could not annul or diminish Aboriginal rights.

At the time section 35 of the *Constitution Act, 1982* read:

> s. 35 (1) The existing aboriginal and treaty rights of the aboriginal peoples of Canada are hereby recognized and affirmed.
> (2) In this Act "aboriginal peoples of Canada" includes the Indian, Inuit and Metis peoples of Canada.

Section 25 of the *Act* on the other hand read:

> s. 25 (a) Any rights or freedoms that have been recognized by the Royal Proclamation of October 7, 1763; and
> (b) Any rights or freedoms that may be acquired by the aboriginal peoples of Canada by way of land claims settlement.

Section 37 of the *Constitution Act, 1982* provided for a single constitutional conference (held in 1983) to identify and define those Aboriginal rights and for the participation of Aboriginal peoples' leaders and territorial government delegates. (p. 207) The 1983 constitutional conference resulted in amendments to the Constitution of Canada and a commitment to a formal first ministers conference. As a result of the constitutional conference subsection 25 (b) was amended to read:

> s. 25 (b) Any rights or freedoms that now exist by way of land claims agreements or may be so acquired.

The constitutional conference also resulted in amendment to subsections 35 (3) and (4) of the *Act* to read:

> (3) For greater certainty, in subsection (1) "treaty rights" includes rights that now exist by way of land claims agreements or may be so acquired.
>
> (4) Notwithstanding any other provision of the Act, the aboriginal and treaty rights referred to in subsection (1) are guaranteed equally to male and female persons."

The First Ministers Conference resulted in three more first ministers conferences in 1984, 1985 and 1987. The focus of these conferences was Aboriginal self-governance. Aboriginal groups came to the negotiations with the position that the right to self government was inherent and not delegated or constitutionally created. This position was advocated by the *Penner Report* (1983) result of the House of Commons Special Committee on Indian Self-Government. Consensus could not be reached on the question of whether or not Aboriginal self-government flowed from an inherent right and should be included in the definition of 'treaty and Aboriginal rights' or whether it was to be delegated from federal and provincial governments. As a result there were no further amendments to the Constitution in any of the three constitutional conferences.

In 1987 the *Meech Lake Accord* was signed. The accord resulted in Quebec being recognized as a "distinct society." The accord was silent on Aboriginal and treaty rights. Aboriginal people did not oppose recognition of Quebec as a distinct society so long as Aboriginal people were acknowledged in a like manner. By 1990 the New Brunswick and Manitoba legislatures had not yet approved the constitutional resolution and Newfoundland and Labrador had rescinded its original approval. The *Meech Lake Accord* was defeated when Elijah Harper, a Manitoba MLA opposed legislation adopting the *Accord* and thereby prevented the unanimous vote required by Manitoba law to accept the *Accord*.

> Aboriginal peoples were unable to have their nation-to-nation relationship recognized, and Quebec was unable to have its distinctiveness as a society recognized. (p. 213)

In July, 1990 the Mohawk people of Kanesatake set up road blocks. The issue was legal title to 400 square kilometres of land that was granted to the Seminary of St. Sulpice in 1717 and enlarged in 1735. The land was to be used to benefit the Indian residents on the condition that title to the land would revert to the Crown if they ever vacated the mission. The Mohawk people considered this land to be theirs.

Part of the land in question was acquired by the municipality of Oka in 1959. Despite protest from the Mohawk people a nine-hole golf course was constructed and in 1990 the course was to be expanded to 18 holes. The festering, 200 year old land claims dispute erupted into an armed confrontation between the Mohawk warriors and Canadian army. This dispute has

yet to be resolved although the federal government has purchased small parcels of land to be returned to the Mohawk people.

Following the failure of the *Meech Lake Accord* and the Oka crisis, the federal government established the *Spicer Commission* (1990) on national unity. This commission found that Canadians as a whole support Aboriginal self-government and land claims and want to acknowledge the contributions of Aboriginal peoples to Canada. The *Spicer* report further stated

> There is a anger, a rage, building in aboriginal communities that will not tolerate much longer the historic paternalism, the bureaucratic evasion and the widespread lack of respect for their concerns. Failure to deal promptly with the needs and aspirations of aboriginal peoples will breed strife that could polarize opinion and make solutions more difficult to achieve ...
>
> We join with the great majority of Canadians to demand prompt, fair settlement of the territorial and treaty claims of First Nations people, to secure their linguistic, cultural and spiritual needs in harmony with their environment.
>
> We join with the Canadian people in their support for native self government and believe that First Nations people should be actively involved in the definition and implementation of this concept. (p. 215)

The Canadian government failed to resolve the growing rift between Aboriginal peoples and the state. In 1991 the federal government created the *Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples* with a mandate to find new ways of rebuilding relationships between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people in Canada. Consultation and deliberation would take four years.

Constitutional talks began again, this time with the full participation of Aboriginal people. The constitutional conferences of 1992 resulted in the *Charlottetown Accord.* The most significant provision of this accord was the recognition of the inherent right of Aboriginal self government. It was put before the Canadian people in a national referendum on October 12, 1992 and was defeated. Aboriginal people would have to wait until future constitutional conferences to realize their rights.

Discussion

It is within this context of history that Aboriginal communities are striving to develop their own child care services. If anything this history of assimilation cautions us to develop services that provide Aboriginal children with an opportunity to learn their own languages, values, and traditions. As children continue to live in a context of assimilation they fall prey to being a focal point for such policy and institutions. The implementation of formalized child care services in Aboriginal communities could easily become such an institution. The greatest violation of Aboriginal children's rights would be to develop and implement child care programs that would serve to assimilate them into a society other than that which is their birthright. The challenge for

today's Aboriginal children is to be aware of the process of assimilation so that they may preserve their own identity and not become lost to Euro-Canadian society. This is especially important as they live and learn in both cultures.

2.1.3 Development of Aboriginal Child Care Services

Aboriginal child care in Canada is complex and multifaceted. Aboriginal children are different from other children by virtue of their distinct histories, cultures, and status. Their inherent differences, as recognized by the Canadian constitution and provisions of the *Indian Act*, have not always been to their benefit. For example, provision of services to Aboriginal children is very complicated considering jurisdictional differences that occur between the federal and provincial governments. While on one hand, child care services fall within provincial government mandates, the federal government has control over Aboriginal peoples and their lands through the *Indian Act*.

Provinces have developed child care services but have not extended their services to Indian reserves. The *Canada Assistance Plan*, no longer existent, offered a way for on and off reserve services to work together however, relationships between communities and provincial and federal governments were never defined to the satisfaction of all parties. The federal government continues to argue that services to Indians is provincial responsibility, while the province argues that Indians are a federal responsibility. The province will not provide services on reserve unless they are reimbursed. (McKenzie, 1991) Caught in the middle of this legal and jurisdictional debate are the Aboriginal children and families who must live the reality of the ambiguity.

In 1995 two Aboriginal specific child care initiatives were announced by the federal government. The *First Nations and Inuit Child Care Initiative* promised to create 6,000 new child care spaces in First Nations and Inuit communities with a financial commitment of $72 million in the first three developmental years and $36 million ongoing thereafter. The *Aboriginal Head Start Initiative*, a Health Canada initiative, is designed to develop an early intervention program for Indian, Metis and Inuit children and families living in urban centres and large northern communities. This program was not offered on reserve lands.

These new initiatives were precipitated by over 20 years of lobbying, writing and speaking for Aboriginal child care services by both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal political and non-political organizations and groups. The following paragraphs highlight some of the political and governmental activities related to the creation of today's Aboriginal child care services.

The *Hawthorne Report* (1966) was one of the first federal government inquiries to explore the need for child care services on reserve. This report noted the inequity of service availability and accessibility between Indians living on reserve and the rest of Canadian society.

In 1965 a landmark agreement between the province of Ontario and the federal government was struck. The *1965 Canada/Ontario Agreement Respecting Welfare Programs for Indians* made Ontario the only province with parental subsidies for child day care accessible to on reserve First Nations parents in need. This *Agreement* gave credence to First Nations communities' expression of need for on reserve child care as well as set a model for how services could be funded like those of non-Aboriginal parents living in mainstream Canadian society.

Some 20 years later, in 1984 the Liberal government's *National Task Force on Child Care* gave nation-wide recognition to the need for Native child care. The report of the Task Force, headed by Katie Cook, was released in 1986. This report recognized that Native communities had similar needs for child care support to those of the general population. The report also stated that,

> quality child care services would not only enable parents to pursue employment and education, but would also help preserve Native language and culture. (p.87)

The need for Aboriginal child care was also made public by the Native Women's Association of Canada in their presentation to the House of Commons in 1986. They described the critical need for Aboriginal child care services as "a way to break cycles of poverty and alcoholism but more importantly to pass on values, language and culture". (p. 7)

In 1987, the Liberal government was replaced by a Progressive Conservative government. This new government created the *Special Committee on Child Care*. This committee, also known as the Shirley Martin Committee, produced a report entitled, *Sharing the Responsibility*. The primary focus of this report was child welfare and little attention was directed to child care.

In the same year, 1987, the Progressive Conservative government announced a *National Child Care Strategy*. The strategy included the *Canada Child Care Act* - Bill C-144, a cost sharing arrangement between the federal and provincial governments; the *Child Care Initiatives Fund*; and a last minute commitment to Aboriginal child care. Bill C-144 died in the senate. Nothing came of the commitment to Aboriginal child care. The *Child Care Initiatives Fund* was carried forward.

The *Child Care Initiatives Fund* (CCIF) began in 1988 and continued until 1995. CCIF was a seven year contributions program designed to encourage and evaluate child care innovations and to enhance the quality of child care in Canada. It was not intended to cover the costs associated with the delivery of child care services. Demonstration, development and research projects were funded. Priority areas included: Aboriginal child care, infant/toddler care, out of school care, rural care, and special needs care. Approximately 21% of all funding went to Aboriginal groups, that is, approximately $16.6 million on 98 community based projects. CCIF supported a variety of Aboriginal projects including: national child care inquiries, regional and community based needs assessments, development of formal training programs, program support materials, culture and language curriculum, and a wide range of service models.

> CCIF funding has enabled some [Aboriginal] communities to test and develop community and culturally appropriate standards for child day care services. Other projects have shown how language and culture are not only critical elements of Aboriginal child care programs, but also a means of reviving and retaining language and culture in communities. Most significantly, these initiatives have shown how child day care can play a role in achieving community wellness. (Government of Canada, 1994, p.1)

Despite this activity, most Aboriginal communities did not reap the benefits of the limited funding available nor was federal funding allocated for the development of Aboriginal child care services.

While the Progressive Conservative government's announcement of a National Child Care Strategy in 1987, failed to make any reference to Aboriginal children, $60 million was allocated to Aboriginal child care in 1988. Unfortunately, this allocation was withdrawn in 1989.

In the same year, 1989, *The National Inquiry into First Nations Child Care* was prepared by the Assembly of First Nations (AFN). This report stressed the importance of First Nations child care in providing First Nations children with an early sense of security, stability, motivation and pride. It also stated that child care should be regarded as a basic social service available to all parents.

Furthermore, the report regarded child care in a holistic manner and saw its intent as not only addressing economic barriers to employment and training but also having the potential to be a vehicle for social change.

> First Nations envisage a major role for child care in undoing the damage already done... child care centres as foci for family healing and the nuclei for community health in the best sense of the word.
>
> Above all, First Nations see the child care centre as the community core. Before Indians became a colonized people, children were at the heart of the community. First Nations would restore them to that place and in so doing restore themselves. First Nations have come full circle as the creator desires. (p. 14)

In 1990, the Native Council of Canada produced *The Circle of Care*, the first national inquiry to explore the child care needs of off reserve status and non-status Aboriginal people. Like the AFN's *National Inquiry into First Nations Child Care* (1989), *The Circle of Care* (1990) views child day care as a potential vehicle for social change and cultural transmission. The report states that,

> culturally relevant child day care is crucial for the preservation of First Nations' children's languages, traditions and identity. Child day care can be a vehicle through which cultures can be retained and transmitted from generation to generation. (p. 35)

Like the stated needs of the non-Aboriginal population, *The Circle of Care* (1990) found that families were held back from economic or educational advancement because of a lack of available, affordable child day care services. The enquiry found that child care services are needed to support parents as they pursue educational and employment goals.

In 1992, the *Brighter Futures Initiative* was announced by the federal government. This five year initiative sought to employ a community-determined approach to supporting the well-being of First Nations children and families living on reserve. The primary focus was on the developmental needs of children and youth between the ages of 0 and 23 years of age. Brighter Futures was intended to replace the promised Child Care Strategy, however, there was no direct provision for on reserve child care services. Although this initiative was not specifically directed to support child care services, child care related activities were undertaken. For example, the *Child Development Framework, A Handbook for First Nations and Inuit Communities* (1994) and *How About Child Development, An Introductory Source Book for First Nations and Inuit Communities* (1994) focus on children's development and how parents can be involved in fostering the healthy growth and development of young children.

The counterpart of the *Brighter Futures Initiative* serving Aboriginal children and families living off reserve or outside of Inuit communities is CAPC, *Community Action Plan for Children.* Likewise, this initiative had no provision for the delivery of Aboriginal child care services.

In 1993, the newly elected Liberal government made a commitment to create new child day care spaces in Canada. There was no mention of on reserve child day care, although a promise for an off reserve *Head Start Program* was included.

The *Social Security Discussion Paper* (1994), presented by Minister Axworthy, was a restatement of the federal government's child care commitment. Minister Axworthy stated that part of the $720 million allocated for child care would be designated for First Nations and Inuit communities. It is out of these commitments that the *First Nations and Inuit Child Care Initiative* and the *Aboriginal Head Start Initiatives* were born and from which federally supported, Aboriginal child care became a reality in Canada.

The *First Nations Inuit Child Care Initiative* (1994) had a mandate to create 6,000 new child care spaces in First Nations and Inuit communities with a fiscal commitment of 72 million dollars in the first three developmental years and 36 million ongoing thereafter. Also in 1994 the Assembly of First Nations produced *An Overview of First Nations Child Care in Canada.* This document identified critical components of Aboriginal child care services:

1. the preservation of language and culture,
2. parental and community participation,
3. local jurisdiction and control,
4. quality management and human resources and
5. adequate fiscal resources. (p. 20)

The following year (1995) Health Minister Dianne Marleau announced the *Aboriginal Head Start Initiative*. This 83.7 million dollar, four year initiative was the fulfilment of the federal government's commitment for an early intervention program that would serve Aboriginal parents and children living in urban and large northern communities.

The 1996 *Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples* reaffirmed the need for Aboriginal child care services. Child care is seen as a "means of reinforcing Aboriginal identity, instilling values, attitudes and behaviours that give expression to Aboriginal cultures." (p. 449) Aboriginal people want to:

> prepare their children for stronger academic performance, but their concerns go beyond a singular focus on cognitive development. They recognize the need of families for support and respite while they struggle with personal and economic problems. They want to see early identification of children with special needs and provision of appropriate care and parent education in the community. They see high quality child care as a necessary service for parents undertaking training or gaining a foothold in the work force. (p. 449)

In 1997, a second *Aboriginal Head Start Program* was announced. This program was to support Aboriginal children and families living on reserve. The on reserve program was to be modelled after the northern and remote Head Start Program. The primary goal of this initiative is to "demonstrate that locally controlled and designed early-intervention strategies can provide First Nations preschool children with a positive sense of themselves, a desire for learning and opportunities to develop fully and successfully." (p. 9) Specific components of the program include: culture and language, education, health promotion, nutrition, social support and parental and community involvement.

Currently the *National Children's Agenda* represents a unique collaboration of federal, provincial territorial governments' commitment to support the well-being of all Canadian children. This commitment was established in December, 1997 at the First Minister's Conference. Responsibility for this work was given to the Federal-Provincial-Territorial Council on Social Policy Renewal. One of the first initiatives to take place under the umbrella of the agenda was the *National Child Benefit*. In 1999, a proposed vision, values and goals were developed and presented to focus groups across the country for their feedback and comment. In the *National Children's Agenda, A Shared Vision*, the document presented to focus groups across the country, *Section IV* presents an Aboriginal perspective on the *National Children's Agenda* as presented by the five national Aboriginal organizations (Assembly of First Nations, Metis National Council, Native Women's Association of Canada, Congress of Aboriginal Peoples and Inuit Tapirisat of Canada).

This section of the document speaks to the constitutional rights of First Nations, Metis and Inuit people and the diversity of Aboriginal peoples in Canada. Likewise it speaks to the needs of Aboriginal children.

> Today, Aboriginal children face far greater risk than most non-Aboriginal children since among many things they are:
>
> - twice as likely to be born prematurely, underweight, or die prematurely,
> - three or four times more likely to suffer Sudden Infant Death Syndrome,
> - 15 to 38 times more likely to suffer the effects of Fetal Alcohol Syndrome,
> - three times more likely to be disabled,
> - six times more likely to die by injury, poisoning or violence and
> - five times more likely to take their own life.
>
> Aboriginal children are more likely to live in poverty since half of all Aboriginal families live in poverty with one in four being a single parent family often headed by a teenager. (p. 19)

The development of the *National Children's Agenda* will continue through the year 2000 with implementation of initiatives and strategies in the coming years for Canada's children.

Discussion

Aboriginal child care services have been developed within a context of assimilationist policies both historically and within a contemporary context. The struggle for independence, self sufficiency and self government continues on for Aboriginal people. It is therefore necessary to ask:

> Do existing programs reflect assimilation policies? If so, what can be done to ensure that programs empower Aboriginal children, families and communities?

2.2 The Need, The Vision

The reports and initiatives precipitating the establishment of Aboriginal child care in Canada describe a great need for services. Rationales for this need focus on preservation of Aboriginal traditions and values, healing of children, families and communities, healthy child development and education and employment support. However, the most common reason for Aboriginal child care is cultural retention and revitalization - not enhanced development, not school readiness and not employment/educational support. Underlying this reason is a view of children unique to Aboriginal people, a view supported by a specific set of values and beliefs. The following paragraphs document the words of Aboriginal individuals and organizations as they describe: 1) the need for Aboriginal child care services, (the current reality of many Aboriginal communities), 2) the values and beliefs inherent to traditional child rearing practices including care and education, and 3) the nature of Aboriginal child care.

2.2.1 The Need for Aboriginal Child Care Services

2.2.1. a As Expressed by the People

In 1986, the Native Women's Association of Canada (1986) identified child care as a way to preserve culture, and heal family and community.

> The reason why child care is so important is because of the nature of our families, of the social and economic conditions of our men and women. Our children require child day care so that we can break the cycle of poverty, we can break the cycle of alcoholism, but most important so we can pass on our culture, values and language. Without child care services designed by us for our children, in which Elders tell our children their history and assist in the teaching of our children their traditional languages and values, we will only continue to suffer racism, assimilation, and language loss. Our children will be more alienated as they grow up and the cycles of poverty, of violence and of abuse will continue. (p. 7)

The National Inquiry into First Nations Child Care prepared by the Assembly of First Nations (AFN) in 1989 stressed the importance of First Nations child care in providing children with an early sense of security, stability, motivation and pride. This inquiry viewed child care from a holistic perspective and saw child care services as having the potential to be a vehicle for social change.

> First Nations envisage a major role for child care in undoing the damage already done... child care centres as foci for family healing and the nuclei for community health in the best sense of the word. (p. 14)

Like the Assembly of First Nation's *National Inquiry into First Nations Child Care* (1989), the Native Council of Canada's *The Circle of Care* (1990) viewed child day care as a potential vehicle for social change and cultural transmission. This report stated that

> ... culturally relevant child day care is crucial for the preservation of First Nations' children's languages, traditions and identity. Child day care can be a vehicle through which cultures can be retained and transmitted from generation to generation. (p. 35)
>
> ... culturally appropriate child care is needed to accommodate Native family systems and practices, Native methods of learning and Native languages. (p.17)

In their 1995, *National Overview of First Nations Child Care in Canada*, the Assembly of First Nations reiterates their view of child care as a cultural issue and as such must be based upon the values and traditions of First Nations communities.

Ethel Blondin-Andrew, Secretary of State for Training and Youth, spoke about the importance of quality child care within a broad context of child development services in her address to the *Assembly of First Nations National Meeting on Child Care* (1995).

> We have considered child care within a broader context of child development services. So we will be interested to see how comprehensive services can bring together child development, family support and child care services. (Assembly of First Nations, 1995, p. 205)

The Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, Vol.3 (1996) documents Aboriginal people as saying:

> Most important, [Aboriginal people] see early childhood [services] as a means of reinforcing Aboriginal identity, instilling the values, attitudes and behaviours that give expression to Aboriginal cultures. (p. 449)

Elder Tom Porter summed up the importance of child care to Aboriginal people at the *National Meeting on First Nations Child Care* (1995) saying:

> The Elders told me we must never lose our language, because when we lose our language that's when there'll be no more Indians. When we lose our spiritual ceremonies, and don't wear Indian clothing, then there'll be no more Indians. When the Indian is no longer who will make the environment safe and protect it. A strong identity will protect the children.
>
> ... the reason many of our children have trouble is because many of grandparents went to residential schools and were forced to assimilate into mainstream culture. At these schools, our languages and our ceremonies were prohibited. What was taken away was the nourishment that a father, mother and auntie gives on a daily basis. When the people returned from the residential schools, they had no example of father and motherhood. So, dysfunctional families began.
>
> The Indian way was loving and holistic. Let's raise our kids in that loving Indian way. For the children let's do it. (Assembly of First Nations, 1995, p. 187)

2.2.1 b As Demonstrated by the Statistics

Additional support for child care services in Aboriginal communities can be found by comparing levels of services available to Aboriginal versus non-Aboriginal people.

Child care services in most Aboriginal communities did not exist until recently when the *First Nations and Inuit Child Care Initiative* (1995) created child care spaces for First Nations and Inuit peoples living on reserve or in Inuit communities. Prior to this initiative Aboriginal people, especially those living on reserve, did not have access to the subsidies and infrastructure for child care available to the broader population in their province or territory. By contrast, for all Canadians, 28% of children with parents working more than 20 hours per week or studying full time had access to regulated child care services. (Human Resources Development Canada, Child Care Programs, 1994) Only in the Yukon, Alberta and Ontario did access by First Nations and Inuit people approximate this national average. Outside of these provinces, approximately 2.5% of children in First Nations and Inuit communities had access to regulated child care services.

Despite the establishment of this new initiative the need for on reserve child care services did not meet the projected 28%. Changing demographics, utilization of dated population statistics in the development of the initiative's funding framework (i.e. 1991 population statistics) and lack of additional funds to accommodate increasing population played a role in this failure. Lack of child care spaces continues to be a detriment to Aboriginal communities.

Just as few regulated child care services exist on reserves or in Inuit communities the same is true for Aboriginal people living off reserve or outside Inuit communities. The number of Aboriginal owned and operated child care centres are extremely limited. For example, in 1990 the 17-space Sundance Day Care was the only Aboriginal child care service in Vancouver, BC. (Ottawa Citizen, Feb. 16, 1990) See Table 4 for urban off reserve population.

-- Insert Table 4 here –

Aboriginal communities are not only faced with an inadequate number of child care spaces but also with a young population having a high birthrate. As this young population continues to grow, so will the need for Aboriginal child care services. According to many Aboriginal individuals and groups, the nature of those services must be embedded in the values, traditions and culture of the Aboriginal people. To find this, Aboriginal people must look to the wisdom of the past for guidance.

2.2.2 Traditional Child Rearing Practices

The current need for Aboriginal child care services is also born out of values and beliefs that underlie traditional child rearing practices.

The customs and traditions that manifest these unique value and belief systems were passed down from generation to generation through child rearing. One of the most distinctive values held about children in traditional life was the centrality of the child; children were at the heart of the family and community. (Native Council of Canada, 1990) Child rearing was considered a valued, sacred responsibility. Brokenleg and Brendtro (1989) describe traditional child rearing practices as

> In a culture where child rearing was valued as a sacred responsibility, young persons were nurtured and empowered to meet the most difficult challenges with courage, competence and compassion. Traditional Native child care approaches are in harmony with emerging and developmental research which shows that self-esteem is dependent upon fostering in children the spirit of belonging, mastery, autonomy and generosity. (p. 1)

They identify four areas of Aboriginal values and beliefs that underlie traditional child rearing practices in the Native Council of Canada's *"The Circle of Care"*, (1990). They are:

belonging...

significance is nurtured in a cultural milieu that celebrates the ethos of belonging

Founded on its expression of cross generational relationships, a sense of belonging is considered to be the most significant factor in Native identity. Within Native society, a sense of belonging fashions young people to be more responsive to advice from other clan members. In their cultivation, Native youth listen and reflect upon the advice given to them by respectful and caring adults. For Native Peoples, a sense of belonging extends beyond the family, encompassing nature as well.

> "Animals, plants, people and streams all were interdependent. From childhood, children were taught through stories that if this harmony was upset, tragedies could result. All are related, and one's actions impinge on the natural environment."

Native Peoples have a deep respect for nature and revere the beauties and gifts given to them by *Mother Earth*. The belief that they are entrusted with nature's care to keep and maintain its harmony and balance is perhaps, the most predominant conflict faced by Native Peoples within mainstream society.

> "...maintaining balanced ecological relationships is a way of ensuring balance in one's own life."

mastery...

competency is enhanced by extensive opportunities for mastery

The wisdom of Native culture asserts that all persons need to feel competent, and as well, require the encouragement in developing their competency. Striving for personal goals is not intended to take precedence over the goals of others as one learns to share personal achievements. Thus, the success of others becomes a success of all and not just of a few.

> "Success and mastery produced social recognition as well as inner satisfaction. Native children were taught to generously acknowledge the achievements of others, but a person who received honour must always accept this without arrogance. Someone more skilled than oneself was seen as a model, not a competitor."

Competence in Native children is encouraged whereas interpersonal competitiveness is not. Competency in a child is recognised by all members of the community which contributes to a strengthening of the child's self esteem and self image. Competitiveness on the other hand is downplayed. A traditional Native philosophy dictates that no child should consider him/herself better than their peers.

autonomy...

power is fostered by encouraging the expression of autonomy

Native culture is based upon the concept of individual freedom. Autonomy commences in early childhood whereby the ability to make independent judgments ensures the survival of the community. As Elders are role models and are disposed to giving advice, children make many choices without coercion. Within Native cultures, autonomy is balanced by social controls.

> "As opposed to contemporary white culture's pressure on children to become independent, assertive, and competitive at an early age, the child must first have opportunities to be dependent, learn to respect and value Elders, and be taught to obey through explanation for desired behaviour."

generosity...

virtue is reflected in the pre-eminent value of generosity

Raised in a culture where simplicity and non-materialism are valued, Native Peoples are often misjudged by outsiders as being complacent and apathetic. However, Native children are taught to be generous, unselfish and to give without expectation. As the Native community is based upon reciprocity, personal wealth and possessions do not elevate one's social status as altruism is considered the highest of virtues. (pp 22-23)

Brokenleg and Brendtro (1989) go on to say that traditional child rearing exemplify these four values and may be seen as part of the "circle" where:

> The child's need for belonging must be nourished without neglecting the corresponding need for individual autonomy. The young person must defer to the wisdom of the adult but also develop his or her own knowledge and competence. Personal achievement and mastery do not make one superior to others but better able to serve them. Children are taught to learn from those older than themselves and act as teachers to those younger. The aged bring stories to the young, and the young bring gifts to their revered Elders. Sharing contributes to a sense of belonging and in turn is a measure of one's competence and power. (Native Council of Canada, 1990, p. 25)

The 1996, *Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, Vol. 3* provides a detailed description of early childhood care and education that typifies the values and beliefs Brokenleg and Brendtro (1989) write about.

> Traditional Aboriginal life provided the conditions for a solid childhood foundation. Babies and toddlers spent their first years within the extended family where parents, grandparents, aunts and uncles, brothers and sisters all shared responsibility for protecting and nurturing them. Traditional Aboriginal child-rearing practices permitted children to exert their will with little interference from

adults. In this environment, children were encouraged to develop as thinking, autonomous beings. At the same time, they acquired language and were integrated into the rhythms of daily life in the family and community.

In this early stage of development, children learned how to interpret and respond to the world. They learned how to walk on the land, taking in the multiple cues needed to survive as hunters and gatherers; they were conditioned to see the primacy of relationships over material possessions; they discovered that they had special gifts that would define their place in and contribution to the family and community. From an early age, playing at the edge of adult work and social activities, they learned that dreams, visions and legends were as important to learning as practical instruction in how to build a boat or tan a hide. (pp 446-447)

Children were the responsibility of not only his or her biological parents but of the entire family. Grandparents played a key role in the rearing of children. They spent many hours telling stories and showing children how to do things. A tiny baby was nurtured by older siblings as well as those the same age. A child's family was also supported through care for him. In short, the whole community took responsibility for the child and family through extended relationship patterns, clan and other family groupings. (Native Council of Canada, 1990)

Many traditional child rearing practices survive in Aboriginal families while other practices are being revived. The words of Elders, community members and child caregivers speak to the need for child care services that reflect the values and beliefs of Aboriginal people. They know it is vital for their children to know and understand who they are as Aboriginal people - to be grounded in their culture, language and traditions.

2.2.3 A Vision for Aboriginal Child Care Services

In addition to identifying the need for Aboriginal specific child care services many individuals, groups and organizations have described what Aboriginal child care services should/would look like. In the *First Nations/Inuit Child Care Program and Funding Framework* (1995) the Joint First Nations/Inuit/Federal Child Care Working Group describe what child care services should teach and why.

Children are viewed as a gift to us. Child care services for our children must be guided by the wisdom of the generations, by the values and beliefs of our people. These programs must nurture the development of healthy children, based on their emotional, spiritual, physical and mental needs. In many First Nations cultures this is understood as the four aspects of the Medicine Wheel.

Child care [services] must reflect and reinforce in children the values and beliefs of their ancestors, which may include values such as respect, self discipline, humility, sharing, caring, kindness, forgiveness, honesty, truth and love...(p. 8)

Mary Thomas (1995), a Shuswap Elder, teaches that,

> We cannot live in the past. History moves forward. We move but we take with us the beliefs and values of the past. These are the beliefs and values of our people, that our people lived by. Teach these things to our children.(Joint First Nations/Inuit Federal Child Care Working Group 1995, p. 9)

The more recent Assembly of First Nations report entitled, *National Overview of First Nations Child Care in Canada* (1995) contains a First Nations *Framework on Child Care* as developed by the Rights Committee on Child, Family and Health Care (1988). This framework describes a First Nations child care system of high quality, culturally appropriate, and First Nations controlled services. *Child Care as a Cultural Issue* and *First Nations' Vision of Child Care* are two of the sections contained in the framework. Specific statements within these sections include:

> **Child Care as a Cultural Issue**
> First Nations child care must be addressed culturally and holistically. Child care must encompass First Nations values and traditions. ...child care programs [must] be placed within the culture of the First Nations communities.
>
> **First Nations' Vision of Child Care**
> Children are the most precious resource of the First Nations. Because child care services are required at such a crucial time in a child's development, First Nations have the right to expect that the child care system will build upon the positive identity of our children.
>
> The care of First Nations children is first and foremost a parental responsibility.
>
> Parents must be involved along with First Nations governments in decisions concerning the operation and delivery of child care services.
>
> First Nations require a child care system which reflects the unique needs of First Nations society and will provide a comprehensive range of quality, accountable, community based nonprofit child care services for families requiring care.
>
> Services that are provided in First Nations communities must be culturally sensitive, nonprofit, comprehensive, accessible, of high quality, affordable and administered by appropriate First Nations caregivers whenever possible.
>
> Quality child care to First Nations has a special meaning. Involvement of Elders with respect to Aboriginal languages and traditional values is an essential component in achieving quality care. There is a need to protect and redevelop the traditional aspect of child care particularly due to the "Mission School Syndrome".

> To ensure quality, it is essential that certain standards be met by the caregiver. Standards relating to child ratios, and health and safety requirements need to be met. ...[D]etermining those standards and questions on how to monitor services should be decided by the parents using the service and the First Nations governments.
>
> First Nations have an inherent right to develop and control their own child care systems. First Nations should develop national minimum standards for First Nations child care guidelines. Those guidelines must reflect First Nations values and traditions.
>
> First Nations government jurisdiction, powers and responsibilities must be recognized...
>
> This child care framework emphasizes high quality services that are designed and controlled by First Nations communities, that are culturally sensitive, comprehensive, accessible, affordable and administered by Aboriginal caregivers, and that reflect the values, traditions and languages of First Nations cultures.

Discussion

Aboriginal people have identified the need for child care services that reflect their unique beliefs and values. They have described the nature of those services and why they should be so, as well as their purpose. The next step is implementation.

In Canada today, Aboriginal people are in the midst of implementing formalized child care services that are for the most part not traditional to their communities. They are on the threshold of making serious decisions for their children, for their communities and for their future as unique societies. The historical context of assimilation, loss and ambiguity created by colonial and federal governments continues to plague Aboriginal communities and families. For example, the new federally supported Aboriginal child care initiatives require on and off reserve and Inuit child care services to submit to provincial legislation until self- government is realized. In doing so, the federal government continues to control and use the provincial government as a tool of assimilation.

The total disruption of Aboriginal families for over five generations as a result of the federal government's residential school policies negatively impacts on the enculturation of today's children into their cultures. As many Aboriginal individuals, groups and organizations have said, child care is a vehicle for the transmission of values, traditions languages and cultures. It is more than preparing a child for school, enhancing their development or providing educational or employment support; it is about healing and survival of Nations.

It is therefore incumbent upon those involved in the development of Aboriginal child care services to seriously "think well" about the kinds of services that will be implemented in the

heart of Aboriginal communities. There are many lessons to be learned from examining other formalized systems of child care.

2.3 First Nations Jurisdiction and Authority in Child Care

The following section examines the constitutional context of child care relative to Aboriginal people. The *Royal Proclamation, 1763* the *Constitution Act, 1867* and the *Constitution Act, 1982*, play a significant role in the development and implementation of Aboriginal child care services.

2.3.1 Royal Proclamation, 1763

The *Royal Proclamation*, 1763 is often cited as the first reference to the protection of Aboriginal rights in western legal history. The Proclamation is significant in that it acknowledged the existence of Aboriginal peoples and their right to occupy traditional territories without interruption from the Crown. (Morse, 1985)

The Proclamation is also significant because it set the stage for what ultimately has been called the 'treaty making' process. Lands occupied by Aboriginal people could only be surrendered to the Crown prohibiting individuals from trading with Indians for the purchase of lands. This declaration is clearly the precursor to federal and provincial 'extinguishment' policies. (Slattery, 1992)

Over the next 250 years the British Crown and Canadian government entered into several treaties with Aboriginal peoples on the basis that Aboriginal people would "cede, surrender and forever relinquish..." their Aboriginal right to traditional territory in exchange for reserve lands and other nominal benefits. (Josephy, 1994)

The framers of the BC Treaty Making Process are well aware of this history and Aboriginal leaders have been able to argue with considerable success that treaty making in British Columbia will not be conducted on the basis of extinguishing Aboriginal title or rights.

This discussion is relevant to the issue of social services and in particular child care because the authority of Aboriginal governments to pass laws in these areas is arguably a right inherent in the recognition of Aboriginal people occupying their traditional territory. In other words the Proclamation is not simply a recognition of the right to occupy land but also a recognition of the exercise of governance within the lands occupied.

2.3.2 Constitution Act, 1867

The *Constitution Act, 1867* (formerly the *British North American Act*) is the founding document of Canada as a federal state. It sets out the division of law making powers between the federal and provincial governments.

Section 91 (24) grants to the federal government exclusive law making authority over "Indians and lands reserved for Indians." Case law has clearly established that federal authority in this area relates to two distinct powers: the power to legislate over Indians generally and the power to legislate over Indian lands. (Natural Parents v. Superintendent of Family and Child Services (1976), 60 DLR (3rd) 148) Case law has also established that the two powers are not necessarily severable from the other. (Four B v. United Garment Workers (1980), 102 DLR (3rd) 385)

Under this power the federal government has passed the *Indian Act*. While the *Indian Act* and related regulations do not address child care services there is no doubt that the federal government has the ability to pass laws in this area, whether through the *Indian Act* or separate legislation. The *Indian Act* currently defines 'children' for the purposes of the Act and provides for the recognition of traditional adoptions of children. (ss. 2 and 48)

Other provisions of the *Indian Act* are relevant to this topic. In 1952 the Act was amended to allow for the application of general provincial laws to 'Indians' (s. 88). Case law has established that wildlife legislation (R.v. Dick, [1985] 4 CNLR 55), provincial motor vehicle legislation (R. v. Twoyoungmen (1979), 101 DLR (3rd) 618), child welfare legislation (Re: H.I.R , [1984] 3 WWR 223), adoption (Natural Parents v. Superintendent of Family and Child Services (supra) and education laws apply to 'Indians on Indian reserves'. These cases support the notion that provincial child care legislation also apply to Aboriginal people.

Section 92 of the *Constitution Act, 1867* sets out the exclusive law making authority of the provinces. This section grants to the province authority over "property and civil rights" as well as "all matters of a merely local or private nature".

Under these powers provinces have passed child care legislation. These Acts and the regulations passed pursuant to them govern the delivery of child care services throughout the province.

It is often difficult to determine with certainty what level of government has law making authority for the delivery of services to Aboriginal people. While the federal government has exclusive authority to make laws over 'Indians and Indian lands' the province has exclusive authority to make laws over matters of a merely local or private nature.

Because of the constitutional principle of paramountcy the federal government has exclusive jurisdiction over Aboriginal child care, and the province would have serious difficulty enacting specific legislation dealing with Aboriginal child care. Nevertheless, the province is able to enact 'general' child care laws that apply to Aboriginal people. (Hogg; 1985)

Where a province enacts a general child care law it cannot refuse to deliver child cares services to Aboriginal people directed by that law. As early as 1974 the courts have noted that the province has a legal responsibility and duty to provide services to 'Indians' on the same basis that services are provided to other residents in the province. (Director of Child Welfare (Man.) v. B, [1979] 6 WWR 229)

2.3.3 Constitution Act, 1982

Two sections in the *Constitution Act, 1982* apply directly to Aboriginal peoples. Section 35 of the Act states that:

> s. 35 (1) The existing Aboriginal and treaty rights of the aboriginal people of Canada are hereby recognized and affirmed,
> (2) In this Act, "Aboriginal peoples of Canada" included Indian, Inuit and Metis peoples of Canada.
> (3) For greater certainty, in subsection (1) "treaty rights" includes rights that now exist by way of land claims agreements or may be so acquired.
> (4) Notwithstanding any other provision of this Act, the aboriginal and treaty rights referred to in subsection (1) are guaranteed equally to male and female persons.

Section 25 of the Act ensures that the individual rights and freedoms (set out in the *Charter*) do not derogate or abrogate from "any Aboriginal treaty or other rights or freedoms that pertain to the aboriginal people of Canada..." including the rights recognized by the *Royal Proclamation, 1763*. In other words the individual rights set out in the Charter cannot destroy in whole or part existing aboriginal or treaty rights.

These provisions have the effect of preventing the federal government from passing laws that intend to extinguish Aboriginal or treaty rights. The provinces have not been able to extinguish Aboriginal or treaty rights since 1867. (Bell, 1998) Aboriginal or treaty rights can only be extinguished with the consent of Aboriginal people or through constitutional amendment. (Hogg, 1985)

This discussion is relevant to child care and specifically Aboriginal authority in child care. The constitutional provisions on the existing rights of Aboriginal people suggest that authority over child care may be exercised by Aboriginal governments as an 'aboriginal right' or a 'treaty right'.

Aboriginal governments asserting an Aboriginal right to deliver services may rely on Section 35 and simply pass their own laws. It is also possible that Aboriginal governments may negotiate the right to pass laws directing services through treaties. In either case Aboriginal governments can achieve a level of constitutionally entrenched self-governance in relation to child care.

In 1995 the federal government announced their new policy on the inherent right to self-government titled, *Federal Policy Guide: Aboriginal Self-Governance*. The policy establishes three categories of matters for negotiations. They include:

1. matters that are integral to the distinctive culture of an Aboriginal group and essential to its operation as a government;
2. matters that go beyond what is integral or internal to the Aboriginal group; and

3. matters where there is no compelling reason for Aboriginal governments to exercise law making authority.

The first category may include matters such as service delivery, including education, child welfare, child care, education and the like. It may also include law making authority for the enforcement of aboriginal laws.

The second category may include matters such as co-management of fisheries, divorce (property division on divorce), and gambling. The third category includes matters involving national defense and external/international relations.

The policy is significant because it recognizes the 'inherent right to self-government' as a Section 35 right despite the failure of constitutional accords to include self-government as a Section 35 right. The policy stipulates that the federal government will only recognize Aboriginal governments operating within the Canadian constitutional regime, so as to ensure that the *Charter of Rights and Freedoms* applies to Aboriginal governments.

As noted above, the Charter sets out the individual rights of Canadian citizens, including the right to be treated equally before and under the law. Federal policy would have it that where Aboriginal governments exercise self-government law making authority, they must not infringe upon the individual rights in the Charter, for example the right to be treated equally.

If Aboriginal laws were to place the collective right of the community over the individual right those laws may be unconstitutional and void to the extent that it infringes on the individual right. In the context of child care the application of the Charter should not pose a problem so long as services are accessible and not restricted to persons on the basis of a prohibited ground (eg. age, sex, race, national or ethnic origin, colour, mental or physical challenge).

One area where Aboriginal collective rights may clash with individual rights is over language. Aboriginal governments delivering services exclusively in their language without regard for the language rights of other Aboriginal groupings may be considered unequal and discriminatory. However, this issue would likely be resolved on the basis that public policy weighs in favour of exclusive language based service simply because too few resources exist to accommodate a multi-language child care service.

While it is clear that the federal government expects that the Charter will apply to Aboriginal self-governance, the federal policy of recognizing self-governance as a constitutional right is significant for other reasons. Constitutional protection affords Aboriginal self-government a level of protection it has never enjoyed in Canadian history.

It is important to state that the constitutional recognition of Aboriginal self-governance does not prohibit the federal or provincial governments from legislating in this area. In fact federal and/or provincial legislation will be necessary to ensure that negotiated rights of self-governance can be enforced in Canadian law. (Slattery, 1992)

It should also be cautioned that the constitutional recognition of Aboriginal self-governance is far from the concept of a third order of government within the Canadian constitutional regime. Some Aboriginal advocates have argued for a third order of government dedicated exclusively to Aboriginal governments. (Cassidy,1991, Mercredi and Turpel, 1993, and Little Bear; 1984)

A third order of government would enumerate the exclusive powers of Aboriginal governments and prevent other levels of government from passing laws that infringe on exclusive Aboriginal government powers. For example, the constitution may set out that Aboriginal governments have the exclusive power to pass laws over retaining and remitting language and culture. In this scenario federal or provincial law purporting to regulate and certify Aboriginal language teachers, for example, may be unconstitutional because such a law would be inherently connected to the object of retaining and remitting language.

Understanding the difference between a constitutionally protected right and a third order of government is essential to explaining the ways Aboriginal governments can achieve self-governance. A constitutionally protected right requires Aboriginal governments to enforce the right. Essentially it is a shield that would prevent attempts by the federal and provincial governments from extinguishing the right. Constitutional protection does not necessarily confer legislative authority to pass laws.

A third order of government on the other hand would explicitly confer legislative authority on Aboriginal governments. Constitutional principles prohibiting the other levels of government from interfering with the third order would apply. Essentially a third order of government is a sword, capable of being enforced against all other levels of government.

2.3.4 Source and Scope of Aboriginal Authority

As the foregoing discussion demonstrates there are several ways in which Aboriginal governance may be realized. Implicit in the constitutional documents are the options to assert Aboriginal authority as an Aboriginal right or negotiate it through treaties. There are other mechanisms to achieve various levels of Aboriginal authority.

Generally, the mechanisms to achieve Aboriginal authority can be categorized into the following areas:

1. Inherent right to self-determination
2. Constitutional Treaty right
3. Federal and/or provincial legislation
4. Memorandum of understanding, delegation agreements, bi-lateral and tri-lateral agreements.

The source of authority refers to where authority derived. For example, authority may be derived from the inherent right to self-determination which has existed since time immemorial.

Authority may also be established within the Canadian Constitution or as a delegation of responsibility from federal/provincial governments.

The scope of authority refers to the extent that the authority is intended to cover. For example, an Aboriginal child care authority deriving from the right to self-determination may encompass all citizens of a particular community and all aspects of delivering the service (such as accreditation of caregivers, licensing of facilities, and the enforcement of community standards).

2.3.4 a Inherent Right to Self-Determination

The Aboriginal right to self-determination has been defined to include the right to possess in their traditional territories whatever degree of self-government they wish. Specifically, it has been linked to the preservation of Aboriginal culture, language, traditions and way of life. In essence the right to self-determination is the maintenance of cultural and political integrity.

Numerous international conventions and political accords specifically speak to the recognition of self-determination of peoples. The United Nations (UN) Charter, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the International Convention on Civil and Political Rights, and the International Convention on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights each refer to the recognition and preservation of the right to self-determination.

There has been considerable debate in the international forum as to whether the definition of 'peoples' includes indigenous or Aboriginal populations throughout the world. For the purposes of this discussion it will be assumed that 'peoples' is intended to include Aboriginal populations.

As the sub-title suggests the Aboriginal right of self-determination is inherent, existing by its very nature and not given by something or someone outside itself. Recent case law and government policy indicate a willingness to recognize an inherent right to self-determination providing that the right relates to a matter which is integral to the distinct culture of an Aboriginal group or essential to the operation of an Aboriginal government.

Aboriginal laws intended to govern customary adoptions (Casimel v Insurance Coporation of British Columbia , [1992] 1 CNLR 84), custom marriages (Connelly v. Woolrich (1867), 1 CNLC 70), and curfews (Eastmain Band v. Gilpin, [1987] 3 CNLR 54) have been upheld by the courts as being valid. In each case the Aboriginal law was considered to be integral to the distinct culture of the Aboriginal group involved.

Weighty arguments can be made that Aboriginal child care is integral to the distinct culture of Aboriginal people. It can certainly be argued that Aboriginal child care is essential to the operation of Aboriginal government: Aboriginal society can only survive with a commitment to children. The distinct advantage to an inherent right of Aboriginal child care is that it can be afforded constitutional protection while at the same time give sufficient flexibility for individual Aboriginal societies to define the role of child care in their communities.

2.3.4 b Constitutional Treaty Right

As noted above an inherent right to child care may be afforded constitutional protection under Section 35 of the *Constitution Act*, 1982. The Constitution also provides for the protection of treaty rights. The constitution uses terminology that envisions the protection of 'existing' treaties and treaties negotiated in the future.

The recognition of future treaty making is important because it opens the opportunity for Aboriginal governments to spell out how they desire to exercise self-governance. Examples of this model include the *Nisga Treaty*, the *Cree Naskapi Agreement* and the *Denee Agreement*. Each of these agreements explicitly identify that they are treaties for the purposes of the *Constitution Act, 1982*. In contract the *Sechelt Agreement on Self Government* does not identify the agreement as a treaty recognized under the Constitution. As such the rights and law making powers conferred in the Sechelt agreement may be limited by federal and provincial legislation in ways that it would not be if the law making powers were recognized as a constitutional right.

Treaty making in Canada has a relatively long history where traditionally Colonial and Canadian governments required Aboriginal people entering into treaties to "cede, surrender and forever relinquish" their rights to Aboriginal territory in exchange for reserve lands, the continued right to hunt, fish and trap in traditional territories and other related benefits. More recently, government has expressed a willingness to consider broader self-government provisions in treaties being negotiated or re-negotiated. While child care has not been specifically enumerated or identified as an area that an Aboriginal group is interested in exercising law making authority, it is plausible that future treaties will specifically identify child care as an area of interest to Aboriginal governments.

It is important to note that if child care is recognized as an Aboriginal or treaty right, and thereby afforded constitutional protection, it may still be subject to scrutiny by the courts to ensure the service does not violate the Charter (for example the right to equality before and under the law as per section 15 of the Charter). Recent case law creating "Aboriginality residence" as a ground for invoking the equality provisions of the Charter suggest Aboriginal chid care would be unconstitutional if the law restricts the service to those living on Indian lands. (see Corbiere v Canada , [1999] 2 SCR 203) This may have significant fiscal and human resource considerations for Aboriginal governments thinking about exercising law making authority over child care.

It is also important to underscore that the exercise of law making authority in child care as an Aboriginal or treaty right does not necessarily prohibit federal or provincial governments from passing laws that impact on the Aboriginal child care law. While there is no doubt that constitutional principles of paramountcy (ie. laws enacted pursuant to Constitutional enactments are paramount over subordinate legislation) will apply to prevent many federal and provincial laws from infringing on an Aboriginal or treaty right to enact child care legislation, other constitutional principles may operate to incorporate federal or provincial legislation into Aboriginal child care legislation where there is a significant gap in the later. For example, Aboriginal child care laws that do not prescribe the qualifications required of caregivers may

result in provincial laws regarding the accreditation of caregivers being incorporated into Aboriginal child care laws.

2.3.4 c Federal and/or Provincial Legislation

One approach to the exercise of an Aboriginal authority in child care is through provincial and federal legislative reform. Provincial child care legislation may be amended to provide for opportunities allowing Aboriginal communities to exercise responsibility for child care through delegation agreements. Such an approach would be similar to child welfare legislation, where the relevant child welfare authority is authorized by legislation to delegate his authority and responsibilities to others.

The delegation model has been used extensively in child welfare, education and health legislation. This model permits non-governmental and community authorities to exercise and carry out legislative responsibilities. For example, the legislative responsibility to protect children is often delegated to individuals and whole communities or agencies dedicated to ensuring children are safe and protected.

It is important to note that any exercise of delegated authority is limited to the actual authority set out in the legislation authorizing delegation. In other words, delegated individuals or groups are prohibited from exercising the delegated authority in a way other than prescribed by legislation (for example, in child care delegated authorities would be required to enforce provincial regulations for age groupings, staff:child ratios, caregivers qualifications and group size).

If provincial child care laws were reformed they should provide for: Indian controlled child care authorities, community rights of child care, upholding positive cultural values (including traditional foods), recognition for Aboriginal languages, processes to facilitate strengthening families, and recognition of extended family kin and child rearing practices. It should be cautioned that many Aboriginal communities do not see provincial child care legislative reform as a viable means of achieving any level of autonomy in child care.

Aboriginal leaders view the application of provincial child care legislation in their communities as an intrusion on their rights of self-determination. Any current application of provincial child care legislation on reserve lands is tolerated only to access much needed federal funding for child care centres and programming. Current funding arrangements for child care services require the recipient to comply with provincial child care regimes.

Another approach to exercising Aboriginal authority in child care is to amend or create federal legislation so that jurisdiction over child care is exercised by the federal governments. Such an approach would mean that the federal government has occupied the field of Aboriginal child care, and ventured into an area that is clearly within the constitutional purview of the provincial governments. For this reason alone it is not likely that such an approach would be undertaken by the federal government.

Nevertheless, the federal government has the ability to pass child care legislation or amend the *Indian Act* to include child care. In fact there are several provisions in the *Indian Act* that address children and services to children. The custom adoption of children is recognized for the purpose of registering children as Indians under the Act. Similarly, numerous sections of the *Indian Act* address the delivery of education services to Indian children, the requirement that children attend school and penalties for absence from school.

Others have argued for a more encompassing approach to Aboriginal self-government. The Special Committee on Indian Self-Government (otherwise referred to as the *Penner Report*) recommended three legislative enactments:

1. The enactment of an *Indian First Nations Recognition Act* committing the federal government to recognize Indian governments (who would be accountable to their own people);
2. Legislation authorizing the federal government to enter into agreements with recognized First Nations governments, as to the jurisdiction that each government would occupy; and
3. Legislation under the authority of Section 91(24) of the *Constitution Act*, 1982 designed to occupy all areas of competence necessary to permit Indian First Nations to govern themselves effectively and to ensure that provincial laws would not apply on Indian lands except by agreement of the Indian First Nation government.

The *Penner Report* recommendations are dated, however useful to consider as a benchmark for federal initiatives involving Aboriginal self-governance. That being said, it is not likely that the federal government would exercise the kind of authority envisioned by the writers of the *Penner Report* for the same reasons it would not amend the *Indian Act*.

2.3.4 d Memorandum of Understanding, Bilateral and Trilateral Agreements

Another way that Aboriginal governments may exercise authority in child care is through negotiated memorandums of understanding and bilateral or trilateral agreements. Essentially administrative in nature, these types of agreements do not necessarily involve an exercise of law making authority but more typically address responsibility for the delivery of services and costs associated with service delivery. Many of these types of arrangements are desirable for Aboriginal governments that wish to express an interest in law making authority, however are not prepare to take on that responsibility or wish to ensure adequate resources are available before assuming that responsibility.

It goes without saying therefore that, while not a true assertion of law making authority, memorandums of understanding and bilateral or trilateral agreements serve a very functional purpose in the negotiation of Aboriginal law making authority. Such arrangements can give notice of a desire to exercise law making authority, and the need for adequate resources (fiscal, human and otherwise) before such an authority is assumed.

Discussion

As can be seen from the foregoing discussion there are many facets to exercising Aboriginal law making authority in child care. What must be said of all potential ways to achieve such an authority is that adequate resources are required to take on such a large task and responsibility. It cannot be expected that Aboriginal governments will readily take on law making authority for child care without assurances that the cost to build an adequate law making infrastructure is in place and guaranteed through cost sharing or transfer agreements.

Recent trends in the courts to acknowledge Aboriginal government initiatives to service members regardless of residence are an indication that Canada and the provinces must be prepared to acknowledge the law making authority of Aboriginal governments for years to come.

The remainder of this chapter explores mainstream quality child care research and its evolution overtime.

AN OVERVIEW OF QUALITY CHILD CARE

2.4 Generations of Quality Child Care - An Overview

The issue of quality in child care has been a central area of study for mainstream early childhood educators and developmental psychologists for half a century. Research on quality in child care has been characterized as having developed in "waves" (Phillips, 1987; Clarke-Stewart, 1987) or "generations" (Pence, 1983; 1989) because of its evolution in identifiable time periods. These "generations" provide a framework for understanding the growth and development of the research. At times this framework is restrictive, for example when two or more important lines of research are undertaken during the same time period or when questions asked in one generation are carried over into subsequent generations. Despite these limitations the following review utilizes "generations" as a framework for examining quality child care literature.

2.4.1 First Generation - Post Second World War to Early 1960s

As Pence (1983; 1989) outlines, the first generation of research began during the second world war and extended until the mid-1960s. The main question asked during this period was whether child care was good or bad for children. Researchers sought to answer this question by evaluating how children were affected by separation from their mothers.

2.4.1 a What effect does maternal separation or deprivation have on a child's development?

Prior to the 1960s the results of research generally presented child care as 'bad', arguing that separating children from their mothers would have a negative impact on children's psychological, physical, and social development, and may have lasting effects on personality (Bowlby, 1951, Freud & Burlingham, 1944, Goldfarb, 1945, 1947, Heinicke, Levy, 1947, Spitz, 1945, 1946, cited in Perry, 1961; Baer, 1954, Bowlby, 1951; Goldfarb, 1943; Spitz, 1945, cited in Pence, 1983). These early studies were "...carried out on children in institutions with the most

dramatic effects demonstrated among children whose infancy was spent in grossly deprived circumstances" (Hoffman, 1974, p. 219), yet much attention was directed toward the implications that any sort of separation might bear. The studies form a "family" of research which focuses on "attachment", "maternal deprivation", and "separation anxiety". This "family" of research began in the first generation, and has continued throughout subsequent generations (for a review of this literature, see Hoffman, 1974, pp. 219-222, Rutter, 1981, and Howes, 1986).

2.4.1 b What are the effects of maternal employment on child development?

Alongside the research on attachment, another "family" of research emerged in the first generation. This research focused on the children of mothers who worked outside the home, and sought to answer the following questions:

> "What are the effects on their children? Must we expect repercussions on children's emotional, intellectual, or moral development? Is there any relationship between material employment and the incidence of juvenile delinquency or school adjustment problems? Or, does mother's working stimulate the child, by example, in a greater interest in job achievement? (Maccoby, 1957).

Although this body of literature asked similar questions to those focussing on attachment, they formed a separate body of research emphasizing maternal employment rather than on child care. In some ways, this early body of research (Maccoby, 1957, Perry, 1961) foreshadowed the progression of child care research, by addressing issues such as caregiver-child ratios and training and experience of the caregiver, which were not emphasized in child care literature until the 1970s. This research sought to understand how material employment might affect a) delinquency, b) adjustment of adolescents, c) adjustment of preschool children, d) achievement of children in school, e) development and adjustment of preschool children, f) infant development, and g) perceptions and attitudes of children. (Stolz, 1960) The results of these studies yielded divergent findings, however "...in many studies, the lack of pertinent variables, such as socio-economic status and intactness and size of family, may account for some of the discrepancies in the results" (Stolz, 1960, p. 773). Of the studies which provided adequate controls, there was "...no statistically significant relation found between maternal employment and delinquency, adolescent adjustment, school marks in high school, and dependant-independent behaviour of five year olds" (Stolz, 1960, p. 773-774). Reviews of the early research on the effects of maternal employment may be found in Herzog (1960), Stolz (1960), Hoffman (1974), or Hoffman & Nye (1974).

2.4.2 Second Generation - Late 1960s to Early 1970s

The second generation of research on quality child care continued to question the effects that child care had on children. Researchers drew attention to flaws in previous research, arguing that it was not appropriate to generalize findings from institutional settings, where children had been separated from their mothers for long periods of time, to children who were separated from their mothers for the purpose of daily child care (Hoffman, 1974). Instead, researchers pointed to the existent body of literature which suggested that children were not adversely affected by

separation from their mothers (Herzog, 1960; Stolz, 1960; Caldwell, 1964, cited in Emlen & Perry, 1974).

2.4.2 a How are children affected by experience in child care?

Unlike the research that was done in the previous generation, the second generation of studies focused on the child within a child care setting. As Emlen & Perry (1974) state, "Day care became a context for research in language development, cognitive studies, play, problem solving, and social-emotional development (Grotberg, 1971; Fein & Clarke-Stewart, 1973; White & others, 1973)" (Emlen & Perry, 1974, p. 111). Studies done in high-quality child care settings and laboratories showed that child care had no negative effects on children, and in some cases, positive effects were documented (Caldwell, et al., 1970; Cochran, 1977; Doyle & Sommers, n.d.; Fowler & Kahn, 1974, 1975; Kagan et al., 1976; Keister, 1978; Lally, 1974; Lewis, 1975; Prentice & Bieri, 1970; Saunders, 1972; Willis & Ricciuti, 1974, cited in Pence, 1983; Zigler & Gordon, 1982).

Studies within this generation can be organized by outcomes for children's i) cognitive, ii) emotional, and iii) social development (Belsky & Steinberg, 1978; Howes, 1986).

i) Cognitive Development

Results of research in this "generation" showed that in general, experience in quality child care was neither detrimental nor beneficial to children's intellectual development (Caldwell et al., 1970; Cochran, 1977; Moore, 1975; Doyle & Sommers, n.d.; Fowler & Kahn, 1974, 1975; Saunders, 1972; Lewis, 1975; Prentice & Bieri, 1970; cited in Belskey & Steinberg, 1978), however studies which focused on children "at higher risk" reported significant positive effects of quality child care (Heber, Garber, Harrington, Hoffman & Falender, 1972; Robinson & Robinson, 1971, cited in Belskey & Steinberg, 1978). Belsky & Steinberg (1978) concluded that "...child care experience may attenuate the declines in test scores typically associated with high-risk populations after 18 months of age (Golden & Birns, 1976)" (p. 931).

ii) Emotional Development

Research on the impact of child care on children's emotional development continued to focus on issues of attachment. In comparing children cared for by their mothers with children cared for in child care, studies yielded contradictory results. Blehar (1974), Riccuti (1974), and Cochran (1977) provided data which reported greater distress reactions for child care-reared children than for home-reared children, when placed in the "strange situation", while Moskowitz et al. (1977) and Doyle & Somers (n.d.) provided data which suggested that home-reared children showed greater distress than child care children (Belsky & Steinberg, 1978). Still other researchers found no significant differences between groups (Kagan, 1976; Brookhart & Hock, 1976; Cornelius & Denney, 1975; and others cited in Howes, 1986).

iii) Social Development

Research on the impact of child care on children's social development showed that children who attended child care were more likely than their age-mates reared at home to interact with peers in both positive and negative ways (Kagan et al., 1976; Riccuit, 1974; Cornelius & Denny, 1975; Moore, 1975; Caldwell et al., 1970; Schwarz, Krolick & Strickland, 1973; Schwartz et al., 1974; Lay & Meyer, 1973; cited in Belsky & Steinberg).

As a result of this generation of research, child care was viewed as a positive experience for children (Pence, 1989). Subsequent researchers however, have questioned the validity of the results produced in this period (Belsky & Steinberg, 1978; Pence, 1983, 1989; Phillips, 1985, 1987; and others), drawing attention to the fact that research was restricted to high quality, centre-based child care, and focused only on immediate effects, virtually ignoring long-term outcomes (Belsky & Steinberg, 1878). Comparisons among studies were difficult because of differences in socio-economic status, and lack of attention to other systems in the child's life (Belsky & Steinberg, 1978).

2.4.2 b Can child care be an effective form of early intervention?

Another "family" of research which developed during this time was child care as a beneficial form of intervention for children who are at-risk. This new "family" of thought, asked questions such as: "how do we intervene to produce positive developmental outcomes?" (Phillips, 1985), and "do early intervention programs produce lasting effects?" (Consortium for Longitudinal Studies, 1983). Two high profile examples of early intervention/prevention, early childhood education programs are "Head Start" and the "Perry Preschool Project".

2.4.2 c Head Start

The Head Start initiative was developed in the early 1960s by the United States government (Lazar & Darlington, 1983). It provided a comprehensive set of services for a proportion of economically deprived families in the US. Although the programs varied tremendously across regions, the overall objective of Head Start was to provide economically disadvantaged children with increased social and cognitive competence through early educational intervention. Although not a comprehensive longitudinal study, evaluations of Head Start indicate it has a positive impact on school readiness, children's cognitive skills, self-esteem, achievement motivation, social behaviour, parent-child relationships and child health (US Department of Health and Human Services, 1993). Other studies that document the impacts and outcomes of Head Start include, Harl (1983); Lazar, Darlington, Murray, Royce & Snipper (1982); and, Mickey, Condell, Ganson, Barrett, McConckey & Plantz (1985).

2.4.2 d Perry Preschool Project - High Scope

The Perry Preschool Project (Weikart et al., 1993) was designed to answer the question, "Can high quality early childhood education help to improve the lives of low-income children and their families and the quality of life of the community as a whole" (Berrueta-Clement, 1984, p. xiii). Results from this study indicate that preschool programs using this model are an "effective strategy for improving the general functioning level of disadvantaged black children" (Weikart et al., 1993, p. 4).

The Perry Preschool Project provides substantial evidence to support the value of quality early childhood education for low-income children and their families. This study followed children who had attended the Perry Preschool Program, documenting differences between them and a control group annually from ages 3-11, at ages 14-15, at age 19, and at age 27 (Schweinhart, Barns, Weikart, 1993). Results from this study showed that school-aged children who had been part of the preschool program showed improved cognition, increased commitment to school, higher school achievement, less grade retention and less antisocial behaviour than the control group (Schweinhart & Weikart, 1980, 1983; Berruta-Clement, Barnett, Schweinhart, Epstein &

Weikart, 1984; cited in Howes, 1986). At age 15, these same results were shown, with the addition of fewer reports of acts of delinquency (Schweinhart & Weikart, 1983). At age 27, the program group had higher monthly earnings, were more likely to own their homes, had a higher level of schooling completed, and had significantly fewer arrests than the control group (Schweinhart, Barns, Weikart, 1993).

Clearly, the benefits of high quality preschool programs as a form of early intervention have been well documented. Further effects of quality preschool intervention programs have been documented in a number of other places that are beyond the scope of this section. These include Lazar and Darlington (1982), The Consortium for Longitudinal Studies (1983), Honig (1989), and many others.

2.4.3 Third Generation - Late 1970s

The second "generation" of research focused on high quality child care programs, which were not representative of typical child care programs. Researchers of this time called for studies which could evaluate the effects of lower quality programs on children (Belsky & Steinberg, 1978; Bronfenbrenner, 1976, 1977; Lewis, 1973; Riegel, 1975; Sroufe, 1970; Tulkin, 1972, cited in Pence, 1983). Child care research began to move out of controlled settings (laboratories and high quality child cares), into diverse, naturally occurring child care settings (Pence, 1983). This research sought to observe children in diverse settings, in an effort to establish the differences in types of care.

2.4.3 a What are children's daily experiences in child care, and do these experiences vary in form of care? (Howes, 1986)

In an effort to answer this question, some studies compared two or more types of child care settings, such as maternal care, family child care, and centre-based child care (Cochran, 1977; Doyle, 1975; Feine, 1973; Fowler, 1978; Gunnarson, 1978; Howes & Rubenstein, 1978; Lippman and Grote, 1974; Moore, 1975; Prescott, 1972, 1973; Rubenstein, et al., 1979; Schachter, 1981; Winnet, et al., 1977; as cited in Pence, 1983; Carew, 1980; Golden et al., 1978; Rubenstein & Howes, 1979; Galluzo et al., in press; Molnar, 1985; cited in Howes, 1986). Results showed some links between types of care and child behaviours, but were inconclusive. Some found maternal care and family child care to be more restrictive than centre care (Rubenstein & Howes, 1979), while others found that family child care programs were superior to other types of care in the social interaction and individual attention a caregiver was able to give. (Golden et al., 1978)

Other studies focused on specific age-groupings such as infant care (Caldwell, et al. Dittman, 1967; Doyle, 1975; Golden, 1979; Ricciuti, 1976; Schwarz et al., 1974; Vroegh, 1976; cited in Pence, 1983), comparing forms of care giving for space, cognitive and emotional experience, and language mastery (Howes, 1986). For example, Cochran (1977) compared infants in a family setting with those in centre care. The results of this study showed that infants in family care explored more, and that infants in centre-based care were more involved in play.

The studies of this generation answered the classic question of whether child care is good or bad with an ambivalent, "it all depends" (Pence, 1989). The obvious question that stimulated the

next generation of research was: "Depends on what?" (Pence, 1989). It was evident that whether the effects on children were positive or negative depended largely on the quality of care, so researchers of the next "generation" shifted their focus in an effort to determine what components come together to produce quality care.

2.4.4 Fourth Generation - 1980s

As the 1980s approached, an increased number of women entered the workforce, and the question of whether child care is good or bad for children became somewhat obsolete (Howes, 1986). This demographic fact, along with the results of the third "generation" which showed that children's experiences in child care varied in different settings, led researchers to question what factors were necessary for children to have a "quality life" in child care (Caldwell, 1973, cited in Kontos & Stevens, 1985). The challenge was to define quality by determining what factors were the best predictors of good outcomes for children (Phillips and Howes, 1987, in Phillips, 1987). Researchers approached this challenge in different ways, either by using global assessments to capture the overall quality of a program, or by extracting specific dimensions of quality, including a) structural aspects, such as adult-child ratio, group size and staff qualifications, b) dynamic aspects of child care, such as the relationship and verbal interaction between care giver and child, and c) contextual aspects of child care, such as type of setting and staff stability (Phillips & Howes, 1987).

The following pages describe: the key studies that were done during this period, the questions they asked, and the findings they reported as documented in Doherty, 1991 and Phillips, 1987.

2.4.4 a The National Child Care Study (USA) (Ruopp, Travers, Glantz, & Coelen, 1979)

What components are the best predictors of positive child development outcomes?

The National Child Care Study was the first major study that attempted to identify the key components that predicted positive developmental outcomes for children. In doing so, it "...launched this next phase of empirical research." (Phillips, 1987, p. 1)

The study examined the impact of caregiver-to-child ratio, group size, caregiver qualifications, and caregiver-child interactions. Results indicated that group size and specialized caregiver training were the "...most potent predictors of positive classroom dynamics and child outcomes". (Phillips & Howes, 1987, p.2)

When the groups were smaller, teachers engaged in more social interaction with children, and children showed less hostility and were more talkative, innovative and cooperative. In centres where there were higher proportions of trained caregivers, children scored higher on cognitive tests. (Phillips & Howes, 1987)

The results for the infant portion of this study showed that both staff-child ratios and group size were significant influences on caregiver behaviour and child development. Specialized training of caregivers was so uncommon in infant/toddler settings that the effects of this factor could not be determined. (Phillips & Howes, 1987)

In addition to the information about structural aspects that this study presented, it also addressed some of the dynamic aspects, proposing that the positive developmental outcomes cited were largely a result of the caregivers' efforts to "...interact in positive, stimulating ways with the children in their care". (Phillips & Howes, 1987, p. 3)

2.4.4 b Predicting Child Development From Child Care Forms and Features: The Chicago Study (K. Allison Clarke-Stewart, 1984, 1987)

What impacts do the forms (family-based, in-home, etc.) or features (number of children, caregiver characteristics) have on a child's social competence, expressive and receptive language, and knowledge of concepts? Doherty, 1991

What aspects of the arrangement were most likely to enhance or to hinder children's development? Clarke-Stewart, 1987

This study observed and reported differences between a sample of two and three year olds, 47 of whom attended nursery school or child care centres, 34 of whom had a sitter come into their home or attended a family-based child care. Doherty (1991), in her review of the literature on quality in child care, summarized the results as follows:

The children from family-based or in home child care:

1. tended to show low social competence with an unknown peer and
2. did not seem to be affected by the overall group size nor the caregiver-to-child ratio; and seemed to function better in homes which were relatively neat with fewer adult-oriented decorative items.

Children from child care centres and nursery schools:

1. did more poorly on tests which measured their social competence when they were in larger centres versus smaller ones;
2. presented lower levels of social competence with adults and peers, but who were better able to take another's perspective when they were in a larger group size versus smaller ones;
3. displayed higher levels of cooperation with adults and other children when the caregiver-to-child ratios were higher;
4. did better on cognitive tests, but were less socially competent when caregivers had higher levels of training in child development;
5. showed greater competence with an adult stranger when the caregiver was more highly trained.

Clarke-Stewart (1987) concluded that:

> "Results at the level of associations between the features of particular child care settings and the development of individual children are more complex and difficult to summarize than the broad patterns related to child care forms. There are no statements about good or bad features, it seems. What is good or bad depends on the setting and the people." (p.38)

2.4.4 c Dimensions and Effects of Child Care Quality: The Bermuda Study (Phillips, D., Scarr, S., & McCartney, K., 1987)

What is the relationship between child care quality in centre based care and children's development? (Phillips et al., 1987)

This study sought to determine the impact that nine centres with varying degrees of quality would have on children's cognitive, social and emotional development. (Doherty, 1991) The results showed that:

1. There was a large variation in quality among centres.
2. Program quality had major effects on developmental outcomes of the child. In particular, dynamic measures of quality, such as verbal interaction between caregiver and child, showed consistent positive effects on developmental outcomes. Structural measures of quality (director experience, caregiver-child ratio, care giver turnover), to a lesser degree were also related to child outcomes.

Phillips et al., (1987) concluded that "good quality care is good for children".

2.4.4 d Child Care Quality, Compliance with Regulation, and Children's Development: The Pennsylvania Study (Kontos, S., & Fiene, R., 1987)

Are particular centre characteristics associated with positive developmental outcomes on measures of intellectual, language, and social development; to what extent do these characteristics predict scores on global rating scales of quality? (Doherty, 1991)

This study used four measures of quality in child care centres to determine whether particular characteristics of the program were positively associated with measures of quality, and with children's positive developmental outcomes. Results of this study are as follows:

1. Capacity, overall group size and ratio were frequently associated with high scores in measures of quality;
2. Developmental outcome variables were also related to specific centre characteristics, but found that individual characteristics were more powerful predictors of developmental outcomes when they were organized into clusters than when they were considered alone; and
3. Centre characteristics were consistent predictors of language development, but these correlations were found to be mostly influenced by family background.

In the discussion of the results that their study presented, the authors suggest that "family background is the most salient determinant in children attending child care centres whose quality varies from adequate to good." (Kontos & Fiene, 1987) Kontos and Fiene caution that in order to fully understand how variations in child care environment affect children's development, researchers must remain aware of the many variables that affect the outcome of studies.

2.4.4 e Quality Indicators in Infant and Toddler Child Care: The Los Angeles Study (Howes & Olenick, 1986, Howes, 1987)

What impacts do family characteristics and varying levels of quality in child care settings have on children's developmental outcomes? (Doherty, 1991)

1. This study used caregiver-child ratio, caregiver continuity, and caregiver training as measures of quality in infant and toddler child care. Further, it sought to examine how high quality programs affected children and their families. It was hypothesized that high quality programs would serve as a social support for families, thus increasing the positive developmental outcomes in the child. The results of the study are as follows (cited in Howes, 1987):
2. High and low quality centres differed not only in the three criteria of quality, but also in their philosophies concerning children and families. As Howes states, "in the high quality centres parents were involved in the day-to-day life of the centre. They were welcome in classrooms, served on committees, and had some say in the decision making". (p. 84) These centres provided care that "enhanced the development of the children and supported the families that used the care" (p. 86);
3. Parents who had less stressful lives and who seemed competent and confident in their child rearing, were more often associated with high quality centres;
4. Children attending child care were more likely to self-regulate than were children who were cared for at home and children in high quality centres were more likely than those in low quality centres to self-regulate (Howes, 1987).

Howes (1987) concludes that this study showed that "good things go together." High quality centres were those which had low caregiver-child ratios and stable, trained care givers, and also provided more support for the families. Families in these centres showed less stress, and children in these centres showed more positive developmental outcomes.

2.4.4 f Effects of Child Care, Family, and Individual Characteristics on Children's Language Development: The Victoria Child Care Research Project (Goelman, H., Pence, A., 1987, 1988)

How are quality in child care, the child's family structure, and child language development related? (Doherty, 1987)

The Victoria study used Bronfenbrenner's ecological model "in order to examine some of the relationships between family structure variables, child care setting, and children's performance on measures of expressive and receptive language" (Goelman & Pence, 1987). Through a comparison of children from high and low resource families, in high or low quality child care centres, the following results were reported: (Pence, 1989)

1. "There were distinct preferences among families for either family daycare or centre daycare...there are distinct reasons for preferring specific types of child care...more parents using centre care responded that they had 'no negative concerns' regarding their current arrangements;

2. There was more scheduling flexibility in family daycare than in centre care...there was more flexibility in providing care for special needs children in centre care;
3. There were higher levels of caregiver formal training in centre care than in family daycare;
4. Most unlicensed family daycare providers would prefer to have other employment;
5. There are higher turnover rates in unlicensed family child care than in licensed family daycare;
6. Children in unlicensed family daycare scored significantly higher on tests of language development than children in licensed family child care;
7. Children in lower quality family daycare homes watched more television than children in higher quality family daycare homes and licensed child care centres;
8. Both the amount of caregiver training and level of maternal education impacted children's scores;
9. Children from low-resource family backgrounds (single parent, low levels of income, occupation and education) were found to be disproportionately represented in low-quality family daycare care homes;
10. Low-quality family daycare homes were over-represented in the unlicensed family child care sample." (pp. 77-78).

Goelman and Pence, (1987) concluded that child development could not be explained sufficiently by looking to one single variable. Rather, there appeared to be "a complex interaction of child care structure and process variables within the contexts of family resources and the factors involved in the selection of child care settings" (p. 99), and the interaction of these has a strong effect on the development of the child. This study was unique in that it included a range of good and poor quality centres in family child care and centre-based settings, and has therefore "enhanced the generalizability that have identified important structure and process variables within child care settings" (p. 100).

The six studies cited above represent the fourth generation of research on quality in child care. The main focus of this generation was to determine the impact that certain variables within a setting had on child development. In seeking to find which variables were the most influential, it became obvious that there were more factors involved. Many of these researchers concluded in their reports that a complex array of factors influenced children's development in a particular setting.

As Pence suggested, those studies that chose to focus on the interaction of child, parent and caregiver variables can be referred to as a "family" of studies which are ecologically oriented (Pence, 1989). These studies attempted to link developmental outcomes to "such contextual features as quality of care giving environment and children's daily experience in care" (Pence, 1989, p. 75). Ecologically oriented studies also considered the interaction of family beliefs, socio-economic status, and caregiver training and attitudes. (Pence, 1989)

2.4.5 Fifth Generation - 1990s

Research on quality in child care in the 1990s spans a variety of topics, including: ongoing research on process and structural aspects of program quality; studies on the quality of family child care; ecological influences on the quality of child care; and long-term benefits of quality child care for low income and at-risk children.

2.4.5 a Cost, Quality and Child Outcomes in Child Care Centres

(Cost, Quality and Child Outcomes Study Team, 1995)

This American study examined child care quality in relation to costs in order to better understand some of the cost barriers to providing high quality child care. The study "...focuses on the relationship between the cost and quality of child care in centres providing full-time services, as well as the effect of centre quality on children's developmental outcomes." Approximately 100 centres in each of four locations were studied. (1995, Public Report)

The key findings of the study include:

1. the quality of about 70% of centres was poor to mediocre;
2. the quality of child care environments was most significantly related to higher staffing ratios, staff education and administrators' experience;
3. states with higher licensing standards had fewer poor quality centres;
4. children's development was positively related to the quality of child care;
5. the overall quality of care was not significantly different in non-profit and private centres.

2.4.5 b Atlantic Day Care Study (Lyon and Canning, n.d.)

This study was undertaken in 1993-1994 in 48 child care centres in Atlantic Canada. It was designed to assess the relationships between centre characteristics, centre quality, staff characteristics, adult working conditions, family background and children's development.

The major findings of the Atlantic Day Care Study included:

1. on average, the quality of programs was between acceptable and good; non-profit centres rated significantly higher than private centres on quality measures;
2. centres having staff with higher levels of education scored higher on the quality measures;
3. no significant relationships were found between measures of children's development and program rating scores.

2.4.5 c Family Child Care and Relative Care (Galinsky, Howes, Kontos and Shinn, 1994.)

The authors of this study noted the difficulty of defining quality in family child care because of the variation in programs, which ranges from parent-like care to centre-like care. In order to overcome this challenge, the researchers developed a list of attributes of quality family child care and asked parents and family child care providers to rank each attribute on a five point scale.

The 82 mothers in the study agreed on the five most important features of quality child care. Care providers' rankings agreed with the mother's five most important attributes. The factors identified by mothers and care providers also agreed with research findings on quality child care.

2.4.5 d Quality Child Care System

Recent research studies indicate that the quality of child care is declining in the United States. (Hofferth, Brayfield, Deich & Holcomb, 1991; Kisker, Hofferth, Phillips & Farquhar, 1991, cited in Kagan & Cohen, 1996). The Centre for the Future of Children (1996) estimates that approximately 15% of children are in poor quality centres that actually threaten their health or development and about 70% of children are in mediocre centres.

A movement is underway to include contextual factors that significantly influence the caliber of child care programs. There is a growing concern that the quality of child care programs will not improve unless systems are put into place to support them. Kagan, Cohen & Neuman (1996, p. 14) express the following concern:

> ...lessons regarding quality, infrastructure and the roles of government, and the imminent need for change suggest that the lack of quality in early care and education programs cannot be attributed to a lack of knowledge about the status of quality or about how to provide higher-quality services. The problem is far more complex: it is the reflection of ingrained ideology, history, and practice. Without attention to the social, conceptual, organizational, and political structures, as well as to the deep-seated values that have obstructed efforts to improve quality, the mere generation of additional knowledge will, in and of itself, not be a successful strategy for advancing a quality agenda."

Ideas about quality child care have expanded to encompass a broad range of contextual mechanisms which support a coherent system that will ensure the quality of all child care programs.

Defining Quality Child Care

The notion of "quality" and what it means in relation to child care has been challenged in significant ways throughout the 1990s with regard to the vagueness and relativity of the term (ECCN, 1991; Jensen, 1994), the exclusiveness of the groups defining and setting standards of quality (Phillips, 1996), the necessity to expand the definition to incorporate contextual factors (such as infrastructure) which significantly influence program quality (Phillips, 1996; Kagan, Cohen & Newman, 1996).

In a review of international approaches to quality child care, Bush & Phillips, (1996, pp. 67-75) identified the following ways in which the term "quality" had been operationalized:

1. as structural indicators (e.g. ratio, group size, levels of staffing and staff qualifications, wages, safe and comfortable environments);
2. as outcomes and goals for children, such as for their health and safety or with regard to developmental outcomes;
3. as preparation for school;

4. as providing a homelike environment;
5. as reflecting the community;
6. as coherence and continuity with overall public policies regarding families and children; and
7. as a process of consensus building.

Some researchers and other experts in the child care field have used the term "quality" as a reference point for child care environments which contribute to positive outcomes for children. They have sought to identify specific aspects or ingredients within the child care environment that make up this positive environment.

Setting universal standards of quality for child care environments, in relation to positive outcomes for children, has been criticized as being culturally biased (Woodhead et al, 1996; Cohen & Pompa, 1996). In addition, expert defined notions of quality child care do not acknowledge the diversity and multiplicity of interests, needs and values of the parents, children and care providers who are most closely involved with the services (Phillips, 1996).

A shift is underway which expands the scope of quality child care to encompass a broad range of ecological factors that influence program quality. Quality child care has been recast as a system of services, not just as a set of criteria for programs (Phillips, 1996).

> This shift matches with the more holistic perspective inherent to Aboriginal people. The spiritual philosophy of traditional Native child care is seen as a part of the Circle, a sacred symbol of life where individual parts within the Circle connect with every other; and what happens to one, or what one part does, affects all within the circle.
>
> The wisdom of Native people is seen in their ability to perceive complex relationships and avoid the oversimplified logic of dichotomous thinking. (Native Council of Canada, 1990, p. 24)

From this perspective analysis of children's development as isolated behaviours, skills or outcomes is contradictory to their way of being and would likely not hold the same importance as it would if it was born out of an Aboriginal perspective. Therefore, it would be more appropriate to define quality in Aboriginal child care contextually thereby more accurately reflecting the values and beliefs of Aboriginal cultures.

Chang et. al. (1996) offers a framework for redefining quality child care in a diverse society to the early childhood education field. They put forward five *Principles of Quality Care in a Diverse Society* that are the foundation for a vision of how child care can be redefined. These principles emphasize recognition and respect for the child and his family context in the early childhood education setting. The principles are:

> **One**: Combat racism and foster positive racial identity in young children.
> **Two**: Build upon the cultures of families and promote respect and cross-cultural understanding among children.

Three: Preserve children's family languages and encourage all children to learn a second language.
Four: Work in partnership with parents to respond to issues of race, language and culture.
Five: Engage in dialogue and reflection about race, language and culture on an ongoing basis. (p. 15)

Concepts of quality in child care have evolved over time and have had many different reference points and applications. In order for the phrase to have any meaning, the operationalized definition must be explicitly stated. This is especially true for Aboriginal child care. The whole concept of formalized child care is new. The primary goal of this review and one of the larger research project's goals is to begin the process of defining what 'quality' Aboriginal child care means and looks like for Aboriginal people.

Discussion

Research on quality in child care has followed a natural evolution. Early studies sought to answer the question of whether or not child care was bad for children by measuring the effects on children of separation from their mothers. The outcomes of these studies were generally negative, however they were based on children who were separated from their mothers for long periods of time. The research then looked to centre-based child care to see whether organized programs would produce harmful or beneficial effects on children's development. This research yielded more favourable results, suggesting that child care had either no effects or positive effects on children. A third generation of research challenged the results of earlier studies, identifying that they were based solely on the effects of high quality programs.

The earlier results could not be generalized to reflect everyday child care programs which were not all of such high quality. Researchers began to move away from studying only high quality settings and began to observe a range of child care programs.

This movement marked the beginning of child care research that focussed on the quality of the environment. As researchers studied various forms of child care within diverse settings, they began to conclude that the most powerful predictor of positive developmental outcomes for children was the quality of the environment.

This spurred the next generation of research that attempted to identify specific environmental factors thought to be related to child outcomes. Global and discreet measures of quality were developed and researchers began to define "quality" in terms of a set of characteristics which were related to positive child development. As the research proceeded in this direction, contradictory findings emerged. Researchers recognized that there were a great number of factors influencing children's developmental outcomes, particularly family background. A stream of ecological research followed which looked at the relationship between the family home and the child care environment.

As researchers developed confidence in identifying tools for measuring elements of program quality, yet another ecological challenge emerged. It became apparent that there were important

external influences on the ability of programs to achieve high levels of quality. At the same time, numerous questions were raised about the use of the term "quality child care".

2.5 Diversity in Child Care

Diversity in early childhood care and education has also received much attention as a topic for discussion and research in the nineties. Bredekamp's (1987) *Developmentally Appropriate Practice in Early Childhood Programs Serving Children From Birth Through Age 8* caused many early childhood educators and researchers to relate educational practice to how children grow and develop. Current early childhood knowledge and its related recommendations for practice reflect the norms and values of white, middle class Euro-Americans. Child care researchers began questioning these underlying norms and values and their role in practice with children of disenfranchised groups (Lubeck, 1994). The following section describes some of the discussions and work that has been undertaken in the area of diversity and early childhood care and education while at the same time drawing parallels to the words of Aboriginal people. The overriding question in this section is: How can this information inform the development of quality Aboriginal child care services?

Many different approaches to the care and education of Aboriginal children have been tried over the years. The most significant of these, of course, is the assimilation policy of the Canadian government that manifested itself in at least five generations of compulsory residential schooling for Aboriginal children. The opposite end of the continuum, a separatist approach, has also been tried. In both instances there has been little, if any success, and in fact were more likely detrimental to children's development. This review sought literature identifying a perspective with more integrity, one that would respect the needs of children, their families and communities regardless of their background. The following studies share these attributes.

> "The task of a society is to prepare its children to take their place in the world of adults, in its broadest sense the transmission of culture" (Phillips, 1994, p. 137). Aboriginal Elders also speak of the need to transmit their culture.
>
> The values of our people have been whispered gently, from generation to generation, like a thread through time, that has ensured our existence. It is to the children that these values and ways of being are passed. They are our future, and our survival. (Joint First Nations/Inuit/Federal Child Care Working Group, 1995, p. 9)

In mainstream society, families and schools have the primary responsibility for ensuring the child is prepared for adulthood. Children in traditional Aboriginal societies relied on their extended family and community for their care and education. They did not attend school as we know it. In the *Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, Vol. 1*, 1996, the care and education is described as follows.

> Traditional Aboriginal life provided the conditions for a solid childhood foundation. Babies and toddlers spent their first years within the extended family where parents, grandparents, aunts and uncles, brothers and sisters all shared

> responsibility for protecting and nurturing them. Traditional Aboriginal child-rearing practices permitted children to exert their will with little interference from adults. In this environment, children were encouraged to develop as thinking, autonomous beings. At the same time, they acquired language and were integrated into the rhythms of daily life in the family and community.
>
> In this early stage of development, children learned how to interpret and respond to the world. They learned how to walk on the land, taking in the multiple cues needed to survive as hunters and gatherers; they were conditioned to see the primacy of relationships over material possessions; they discovered that they had special gifts that would define their place in and contribution to the family and community. From an early age, playing at the edge of adult work and social activities, they learned that dreams, visions and legends were as important to learning as practical instruction in how to build a boat or tan a hide. (pp 446-447)

Children were the responsibility of not only his or her biological parents but of the entire family. Grandparents played a key role in the rearing of children. They spent many hours telling stories and showing children how to do things. A tiny baby was nurtured by older siblings and older siblings often cared for eachother. A child's family was also supported through care for him. In short, the whole community took responsibility for the child and family through extended relationship patterns, clan and other family groupings (Native Council of Canada, 1990).

Today, Aboriginal families continue to play a key role in the care and education of their children especially through the process of enculturation. Enculturation may be defined as the things families do to enable children to know and understand a culture and/or society's shared ideas about values, attitudes, beliefs and behaviours. Children gain the power to influence and impact their world through this process (Phillips, 1994).

> The enculturation process is carried on in the household and transmits to the child what members of the household have learned in their earliest years as modified by later experiences. The learned behaviour passed on includes motor behaviour and skills, linguistic modes, food patterns, the attitudes, goals and anxieties of the older generations. The enculturative process makes for continuity and change. (p. 143)

Therefore, enculturation of children is essential to not only the survival of the culture and people but also to the development of healthy individuals who will one day be active, participating members of the community and nation.

In *Claiming Our Place in the Circle, Indigenous Children's Rights, A Report on the Caring for Indigenous Children Capacity Building Workshop and A Plan for Action* (1996), enculturation into one's own culture is regarded as a fundamental right of Indigenous children and integral to their healthy development.

> Traditions and cultural values of indigenous children is essential for [their] protection and harmonious development ... Indigenous children face many barriers

> in accessing basic human services required for their survival and development. Discrimination is one of the major contributing factors to Indigenous children being among the world's most vulnerable children.
>
> It is imperative, therefore that the rights and cultural values of Indigenous children be reinforced through traditional methods. Traditional Elders who uphold core values which promote balance and wellness, and are respected members of the community can play a key role in the revitalization of the traditional methods in support of Indigenous children's rights. (Halldorson et al., 1996, p.21)

Evelyn Blanchard and Russel Barsh (1979) in their article *What is Best for Tribal Children* also discuss the rights of children to their own culture. They assert that

> An ... Indian child has a right to grow up in and belong to a world of meaning that requires the participation and companionship of family and community members. The child is more than just a child; he or she is a tribal person. Tribal membership is based on mutual and interlocking relationships between individuals that is distinct from the non-Indian view of relationships. ... A child has the right by virtue of birth to develop within the context of his or her culture and with the companionship of people through which the strongest definition of self can be formed. (p. 54)

Not only is enculturation essential to the survival of the culture and therefore a fundamental right it is equally important to the development of healthy individuals. As Aboriginal people move toward self government the need for healthy participating individuals is critical. Enculturation into one's own culture where a child's development of self and group identity and esteem is fostered is the start of a path to independence and self sufficiency.

The positive development of a child's identity and esteem is particularly relevant for Aboriginal children given the historical experiences of Aboriginal peoples since contact and their cultural values. In her keynote address at the *BC First Nations Day Care Program Conference: Quality Care is in Our Hands*, Sandra Griffin (1997) quoted, Creek Elder, Floy Pepper's opinion on what children *need to grow*

> The Four Conditions of Self Esteem: *Connectiveness* found in a sense of relationships, in the attention affection of others by letting a child know that he/she belongs and is accepted in the culture and the family. The principle of *Power*, shown by a sense of accomplishment, by letting the child realize the he/she is competent, and can be successful; *Uniqueness* a feeling of being special and feeling of worthiness, of talents, and productive contributions being affirmed by the values of the child's culture and of significant others; *Models* a sense of knowing that the child's goals and standards are appropriate and important and affirmed by the child's Indian values of generosity and caring.
>
> When children have what they need to grow, then the development of good character, wholesome personality, the positive human relations, adequate goals and necessary skills are automatic. (Aboriginal Child Care Society, 1998, p.5)

Gonzalez-Mena (1997) writes that if this foundation of positive self esteem and group identity is not in place, confusion may occur. She writes that babies and young children are affected by the "distinct individual and cultural rhythms of their teachers and caregivers." (p. 10) They can also be affected by the setting in which they find themselves.

> [children] know they are treated one way by [a] person in one setting and another way by another person in another setting. However instead of becoming bicultural, they might instead become confused about how they are supposed to be. (p. 10)

This foundation has not always been in place for many Aboriginal people. They have not always experienced the right of being enculturated into their own culture. Aboriginal families, and the cultures and identities they passed on to their children, were severely disrupted by actions of colonial and Canadian governments. Children in particular were targeted time and again in official strategies to control and assimilate Aboriginal people.

> **Residential schools** did the greatest damage. Children as young as 6 years old were removed from their families for 10 months of the year or longer. They were forbidden to speak the only languages they knew and taught to reject their homes, their heritage and, by extension, themselves. Most were subjected to physical deprivation, and some experienced abuse. We heard from a few people who are grateful for what they learned at these schools, but we heard from more who described deep scars - not least in their inability to give and receive love.
>
> The removal of Aboriginal children from their communities through **cross-cultural foster placement and adoption** is a second major cause of family disruption. Children removed from their families are severed from their roots and grow up not knowing what it is to be Inuit, Metis or a First Nation member. Yet they are set apart from their new families and communities by visible difference and often made to feel ashamed of their origins. At the same time, their home communities and extended families are robbed of part of the next generation.
>
> **Migration to cities and towns** also disrupts families. Aboriginal people leave home to improve their education, look for work or escape family violence. Once in the cities, they lose the family support they depended on at home. If they have troubles, they may find urban services difficult to penetrate, alien in spirit and perhaps racist. Many make a successful transition. But others fall into the cracks between cultures, where they are isolated, unemployed and under-served.
>
> People who endure these disruptions may feel adrift - disoriented and unsure of how to get along in the sometimes hostile non-Aboriginal world. If their aboriginality has been devalued or ridiculed, they may have lost pride and self-esteem and be unable to build these qualities in their children. If they have been damaged in heart and soul, they may turn to alcohol, violence, crime or other forms of anti-social behaviour. (Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, Vol. 3, 1996, pp. 2-3)

As a result of these disruptions, enculturation of Aboriginal children into the culture of their birth may occur in varying degrees.

Children of colour enculturated into their own culture, may often possess values, beliefs, attitudes, skills, and abilities that differ from those of the larger world. Cronin and Jones (1998) state that "in any society early enculturation is followed by acculturation of the school years ..." and in many cases this is early childhood settings where children are cared for outside the family. For children of colour dissonance often occurs between home environments and outside institutions. Where a child's repertoire of behaviours is acceptable in a new environment the likelihood of him being validated is greater than when they are not. Success is ensured in the former and greatly minimized in the latter. Given this context the question to be answered is: how can families, child care programs and schools guarantee the successful development of children of colour? Do we help the child fit the early childhood education program/school? Do we help the early childhood education program/school fit the child? Do we help the child become bicultural so he can fit in both? (Lubeck, 1994) What can parents do?

In her article entitled, *The Politics of Developmentally Appropriate Practice*, Lubeck (1994) cites Heath (1983) for the many ways in which teachers learn to "build bridges" so that children can learn school, that is, ways in which the child can learn to fit school.

> For example, preschool teachers, formerly upset with children who did not behave as they expected, learned to revise and clarify implicit definitions of how time and space were to be used in their classrooms. They also learned to express requests directly, while providing opportunities for children to learn mainstream forms through story reading. (p. 25)

There are times when parents want to not only guarantee that their children learn about school they also want to ensure that "the school provides their children with discourse patterns, interactional styles, and spoken and written language codes that will allow them success in the larger society." (Delpit, 1991, p. 89) In her article entitled, *The Silenced Dialogue: Power and Pedagogy in Educating Other People's Children* Delpit (1991) describes just such a case where Black parents expressed great concern over the fact that their children were to be given "dialect readers".

> These [readers] were seen as a plot to prevent the schools from teaching the linguistic aspects of the culture of power, thus dooming Black children to a permanent outsider caste. As one parent demanded, "My kids know how to be Black - you all teach them how to be successful in the White man's world." (Delpit, 1991, p. 89)

In her article entitled, *The Movement of African-American Children Socio-Cultural Contexts*, Phillips (1994), advocates for an interactive approach that would have schools incorporate aspects of the home setting into its assessment approaches. More specifically, schools would consider the sociol political order of the institution and home in assessing the development of African-American children. This approach views the child as an active agent in interaction with an active environment and predicts that the source of growth and change is in the interaction

between the two rather than just the person or just the environment. (p. 141) An interactive approach shifts the focus from a deficit approach to children's development to one of understanding and respect for uniqueness and difference. This approach parallels a fundamental teaching of Aboriginal people: all things are interconnected, when one thing is affected, all are affected.

Like Phillips, Gonzalea-Mena's work speaks to adaptation of the early childhood education/school setting to the child. The work of Gonzalez-Mena (1997) focuses on the development of a child care system that has mutual respect as its goal. This goal is born out of a cultural pluralism ideology where "groups are allowed, even encouraged to hold on to what gives them their unique identities while maintaining their membership in the larger society." (p. 9) She advises early childhood theoreticians and practitioners that

> One must see where child and teacher behaviour fail to mesh so that adjustment can be made. One must know and respond to the parents' goals, values and beliefs related to the care of their children. One must know how to meet the needs in culturally appropriate ways.
>
> It may seem that cultural differences have little to do with the nitty gritty of meeting children's needs. After all, how many different ways can there be to feed, clean, dress, and touch children and provide for rest and warmth? Where do the cultural differences come in?
>
> The differences show up in *the way* the needs are met--in how teachers and caregivers interact and relate to children, in the issue of body language and non-verbal communication. Culture is learned very early, and early childhood theoreticians and practitioners can't afford to ignore this fact. (p. 9)

Culturally responsive education is another approach that aims to adapt the school to the child. Incorporating learning strategies and creating instructional formats that are familiar to a child and his community are an example of this type of education.

Cronin and Jones' (1998) work focuses on the sequencing of the enculturation-acculturation process and the role of child care programs in that process. "All children, as they grow up in societies not isolated from the larger world - and there are few isolated societies any more - must become acculturated to the unfamiliar." (p. 3) This usually happens for most children when they go to school, but for some it happens as early as infancy.

Cronin and Jones (1998) examine how "bridges" can be built between different environments. They offer practical suggestions for ensuring that

> child care acts as a bridge to acculturation and not simply a means of introducing "the anxiety of 'going to school' at a younger age." The younger the child, the more crucial it is for healthy development that child care be a familiar place, reinforcing the enculturation that is basic for the child's identity development in the earliest years. (p. 4)

Their four suggestions focus on child care settings where staff and children don't "match" are:

1. Avoid isolating a child.
2. Learn everything you can about children's home cultures.
3. Provide representations from children's home cultures as regular aspects of the play environment and group times.
4. Staff from the children's cultural/language backgrounds. (p. 4)

Kagan & Cohen (1996) write about caregivers promoting biculturalism - where children are taught to fit in both worlds. Children who are bilcultural have "the ability to "code switch" to move with confidence between two or more languages and sets of behaviours, and to recognize which is appropriate at any given time." (Cronin & Jones, 1998, pp. 7-8) By being bicultural, children are more likely to experience successes "in their families - where one set of values and behaviours prevail and in school - where another set of values and behaviours may be expected." (p. 85) Kagan & Cohen (1996) also stress the need for teachers to actively work at simultaneously affirming both the culture of the home and the school.

Ensuring child care programs in Aboriginal communities reinforce the home and community of the child while at the same time preparing him for the larger world will be one of the greatest challenges communities face in establishing their services. In the larger context, part of this challenge will be for Aboriginal communities to articulate and adapt aspects of traditional culture to contemporary society while at the same time maintaining their identity in the future. The *Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, Vol. 1,* (1996) cites an excerpt from Pauktuutit's booklet entitled, *The Inuit Way: A Guide to Inuit Culture*, that describes the challenges facing contemporary Inuit in this regard.

> Inuit have undergone incredible changes in a very short period of time. A brief forty years ago, the vast majority of Inuit were living a traditional lifestyle centred around nomadic hunting, fishing and trapping. While they were in regular contact with Qallunaat [non-Aboriginal people] and their institutions, the Inuit culture remained largely intact.
>
> When they lived on the land, Inuit survived by working together, having an intimate knowledge of their environment and by being able to adapt to that environment. These skills have proven to be no less valuable today in modern settlements.
>
> Inuit presently maintain a foot in both the traditional world and the modern world. They watch soap operas on T.V., ride skidoos and ATVs, travel internationally, operate sophisticated corporations and argue fine legal details in courts of law. At the same time, Inuit continue to live their lives, cherish the time they spend on the land, enjoy visiting relatives and friends and eating country food.
>
> Trying to maintain traditional values while dealing with the modern world can be difficult for any people. Traditional answers to modern problems may no longer be effective. Problems with alcohol and drug abuse, high unemployment rates,

> family violence, high suicide rates, and a large gap in understanding between generations are all part of the high price Inuit have paid for their rapid transformation ...
>
> Regret for the passing of the 'old ways' and dissatisfaction with many aspects of modern community life continue to keep alive the desire to maintain traditional values for many Inuit. This does not mean that Inuit want to return to their old way of living. They still recall the privations and harshness of that life and have no wish to give up the relative comforts of modern community living. At the same time, there is a great respect for people who still maintain a close tie to the land and preserve traditional skills ...
>
> The basic values of modern Inuit society find their origin in the past and continue to play an important role in sculpting the modern culture of the Inuit. (pp. 637-638)

Phillips' (1994) article entitled, *The Movement of African American Children Through Sociocultural Contexts* cites Richardson's (1981) observations of African-American mothers' child-rearing practices as they prepared their children for survival in a racist society (and its institutions) where expectations were different than those of home.

1. Emphasis on the child's need to develop a sense of self and group esteem and identity, where the family took full charge of providing positive black images in order to counteract the negative stereotypes prevalent in the broader society and articulated for children where these come from.
2. Conscious and repeated emphasis on the beauty, value and worth of the child and comparisons between African-American and Euro-American peoples.
3. Identification and explanation of current racism experiences through discussions of family experiences and/or the identification of racism in public institutions, the media, or individuals. The thrust here was on helping children clarify, define, and assimilate accurate information about confusing encounters and help them view themselves separately from how they may be viewed by others.
4. Valuation of achievement, success, and happiness and corresponding support for making it in two worlds, by being pragmatic in their assessment of their social realities with regard to housing, education, economics, and politics and exposing their children to strategies that blacks have historically utilized in "playing the game" or "getting over". (p. 151)

Discussion

The question of passing on culture from generation to generation and how that occurs is clearly a significant issue for Aboriginal people given their distinct beliefs, values and history. The diversity literature reviewed in this section speaks strongly to the need for children to be enculturated into the culture of their birth as a part of healthy development. Healthy individuals who know their identity are essential for healthy communities, and nations. More importantly, enculturation of children is essential for the survival of a culture, of a people. Without children

there are no communities, no nations; one is inextricably to tied to the other. As Aboriginal people develop child care services in the hearts of their communities they will have to face the challenges of the interface between their values and beliefs and those of the mainstream world, between enculturation and acculturation with the ultimate goal being non-assimilation.

The information compiled in the literature review provided not only background knowledge and information but also served to inform the methodology of this study. The following chapter describes these approaches and methods.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

Inherent in this research is a desire to give voice to communities. Along with this desire comes a responsibility to conduct research that is useful to the community. One of the greatest challenges to ensuring relevant research for First Nations communities is to employ a methodology that is collaborative and respectful of the community and their goals. Lewin's (1946) Action Research (AR) methodology is one way to meet this challenge. Action Research strives to promote collaboration between researchers and diverse communities in the process of changing people's lives. In this study many communities' voices and the literature of early childhood professionals and researchers guided the development of the research topic and methodology. In AR the community(ies) is involved as sources of information, they inform the findings and, in this instance, they also informed the questionnaires.

The following chapter describes the project's steering committee including its make up and role in the project, sample selection, survey instruments, data collection, and participation rates.

3.1 Steering Committee

A project steering committee was established at the onset of the project. The committee was made up of individuals with diverse knowledge and experiences in child care. The mandate of this committee was to:

1. promote the project in the province/territory in which they reside;
2. provide technical advice and expertise on the appropriateness of the principles, goals, methodology and application of the research; and
3. review and comment on the project materials.

The steering committee actively participated in ensuring project success by facilitating relationships in the regions research was conducted in. In some instances steering committee members participated directly in specific phases of the project thereby affirming the project and participation in it.

See *Appendix A* for the names of the Steering Committee members.

3.2 Project Participants

While the most desirable sample group would have been a representation of all regions in Canada, fiscal and time restraints prevented that from occurring. As a result, participants for the study originated from three provinces in Canada:

- British Columbia,
- Saskatchewan and
- Ontario.

Regions were selected with provincial boundaries in mind given that child care is the legislative responsibility of the provinces and territories. This provincial/territorial legislative responsibility should not be interpreted as impacting on First Nations desires for jurisdiction and authority in any way that restricts or otherwise requires compliance with provincial/territorial child care legislation.

These three regions were also selected for their unique context. Contextual considerations included:

1. current provincial legislation;
2. duration of child care services on reserve;
3. development of First Nations standards and regulations;
4. existence of treaties and
5. geographic locale.

Study participants included First Nations Elders, politicians, band administrators, child care administrators, child care workers, parents and community members. They all had a vested interest in child care yet brought very diverse viewpoints and perspectives. Participants were identified and selected through the use of personal and professional networks and existing regional infrastructures, i.e. child care associations and members of specific communities.

The three data collection phases of the project are described in detail below including the participants for each particular phase.

3.3 Data Collection

Several methods were used to meet the goals and objectives of this study. They included a literature review, key informant interviews, focus groups and case studies (site visits). Data collection was undertaken in stages so that each stage could inform the next thereby ensuring sensitivity to community needs and enhancing the overall value of the study. This staged approach allowed for the data to be collected and analyzed for use in the revision and fine tuning of the data collection instruments, consistency of categories and topics and overall methodology.

The five stages of the study parallel the approaches used. The following descriptions detail those stages.

3.3.1 Stage One - Literature Review

The first stage of the study was to undertake a comprehensive literature review. This review was divided into two main components: quality child care and jurisdiction and authority. The goals of the literature review were:

(1) To identify all issues relevant to the study. National, regional and sector studies dedicated to child care in Canada are referenced. While these do not specifically identify First Nations child care as a target group they do provide information from which to compare the results of this study.

(2) To identify all current policy (federal and provincial) and legislation (provincial) related to the delivery of child care services.

(3) To identify issues in First Nations jurisdiction, constitutional authority, scope of powers, and models of First Nations jurisdiction exercised in child care.

(4) To assist in the development of background documents for discussion in community based focus groups on First Nations quality child care.

(5) To create a resource document for First Nations developing child care services and desiring to examine quality or jurisdiction of child care in their communities.

The literature review was comprehensive and used throughout the study. It informed the development of the questionnaires, formed the basis of the educational booklets prepared for focus group participants and case studies as well as provided comparative data for this report.

3.3.2 Stage Two - Key Informant Interviews

There were 26 key informants selected from the three regions involved in the study, that is, 10 in Ontario, eight in Saskatchewan and eight in British Columbia. Key informants were selected from throughout their region based on geographic location. They served a variety of roles in their communities or region including: politicians, policy-makers, administrators, service providers, and parents.

Many key informants were identified using existing personal and professional network systems of individuals invested in child care in a variety of capacities. Once contacted some of these individuals identified other possible key informants. These potential key informants were more likely to become involved in the study because of being recommended by someone they knew. Relationships with the key informants also supported the implementation of the stage three focus groups.

There were several steps in the process of undertaking the key informant interviews.

3.3.2 a Initial Contact

A list of potential key informants was generated based on personal and professional network systems. Potential key informants were contacted by telephone. The project was described ,including its purpose and utility for First Nations communities. Individuals were then asked if they would consider being involved in the study. All contacts agreed and letters of invitation were sent to them. A list containing the names and addresses of all potential key informants was compiled.

3.3.2 b Letter of Invitation and Explanation

Letters of invitation were sent out to potential key informants. The letter described the project including the goals and objectives, stages of research and detailed description of the key informant stage outlining expectations and alternative dates for conducting the interview. See *Appendix B* for a copy of the letter.

The letters were followed up with telephone calls to affirm participation and confirm the date for the interview.

3.3.2 c Conducting the Interviews

Face to face interviews were conducted with each key informant. Semi-structured interviews employed questions derived from the study's goals and literature review. At the onset of the interview, the study, its goals and objectives and purpose of the key informant stage, was reviewed with each individual. Confidentiality and processes for ensuring accuracy and permission for use of the information were also discussed. Responses were recorded in writing as close to verbatim as possible by both principal researchers.

The interviews were then transcribed by one of the principal investigators and cross referenced by the other to ensure maximum accuracy and clarity. Once transcribed and reviewed by both researchers the transcriptions were sent to key informants to review and make any additions, deletions or changes they felt necessary. All changes received were incorporated into the transcriptions. The edited transcriptions were then sent out to key informants along with a form requesting consent to use their responses in the study. A second request asked for permission to use direct quotes where appropriate. Affirmative consent forms were received from a majority of key informants. See *Appendix C* for a copy of the *Consent Form*.

3.3.2 d Follow-up to the Interviews

Telephone calls were made throughout the key informant stage whenever appropriate. The most important follow-up to this stage was the presentation of cultural gifts to each of the key informants in recognition and respect for their contribution to the project. Monetary honorariums were not given because they do not carry the same cultural meaning that an individually selected gift does.

Key informants will also receive a copy of the final report once it is completed.

3.3.3 Stage Three - Focus Groups

Focus groups were held in each of the provinces. The focus groups were designed to include as many representatives from First Nations communities as possible. The number of focus groups varied for each province. In Ontario there were two: one held in conjunction with the annual *Native Early Childhood Education Association of Ontario* conference in the summer and one at the *Native Early Childhood Education Supervisors Information Session* held in early September, 1999. One large focus group was held in Saskatchewan as a part of the *Caring Under One Sky Conference*. In British Columbia three focus groups were held in conjunction with the *BC Aboriginal Child Care Society's* annual conference. In total 187 individuals representing over 130 different First Nations communities participated in the focus groups.

Regional specific booklets entitled, *First Nations Quality Child Care, Volume 1 - Ontario, June, 1999*, *First Nations Quality Child Care, Volume 2 - Saskatchewan, October, 1999* and *First Nations Quality Child Care, Volume 3 - British Columbia, October, 1999* were developed. See *Appendix I*, *Appendix J*, and *Appendix K* for a copy of each specific booklet. Information contained in each booklet was based on the literature review, key informant questionnaire responses specific to each region, and child care legislation and statistics unique to each region. These booklets served a dual purpose: one, a way to give back to the community in the form of a tool to assist them in the development of their child care services and two, to offer a context for the focus group questions. The focus group questions, although fewer in number than the *Key Informant Questionnaire*, were flexible enough to cover the same categories and topics. See *Appendix F* for a copy of the *Key Informant Questionnaire*.

The process for undertaking the focus groups included:

3.3.3 a Initial Contacts

Possible hosts for the focus groups were also derived from personal and professional networks and key informants. Each individual contacted was connected to a regional First Nations organization who is responsible for child care in their region. Initial telephone calls were made to the individuals to determine whether or not they would host focus groups in conjunction with their annual conference or information sessions. Following this contact a letter explaining the purpose of the focus groups and expectations were mailed to each regional host. See *Appendix D* for a copy of the letter.

Regional focus group hosts were expected to organize and invite participants who were representative of the region. For their help and support regional organizations were given monetary contributions with the exception of one which requested us to facilitate a day session at their meeting. Contributions were given to offset travel expenses of focus group participants.

3.3.3 b Conducting the Focus Groups

Focus groups were conducted in each region and followed a similar pattern of: 1) presentation of information, 2) small group work and 3) whole group discussion of the questions. Responses from both the small groups and whole group were recorded. Participants were given their respective booklets to use during the session and to keep for use in their communities. A list of the names and addresses of the participants was also compiled.

3.3.3 c Follow-up to the Focus Groups

The responses to the focus group questions were documented in focus group reports for each region. These reports were sent out to each focus group participant.

Focus group participants will also receive a copy of the final project report.

3.3.4 Stage Four - Case Studies (Site Visits)

One site visit per region, that is, Ontario, Saskatchewan and British Columbia was scheduled. Questions were designed to generate information in the same topic areas as the previous stages as well as about the community, child care services offered or desired, options developed and delivered to ensure quality child care services and how communities addressed jurisdiction in child care. Multiple questionnaires were developed to meet these needs as well as accommodate the diversity of community members. They are entitled: *Chief and/or Councillors Questionnaire, First Nations Administrators Questionnaire, Elders Questionnaire, Child Care Administrators Questionnaire, Caregivers Questionnaire, Parent Questionnaire* and *Community Members Questionnaire*. See *Appendix H* for a copy of the these questionnaires.

3.3.4 a Initial Contacts

Contact with potential site visit hosts was made using personal and professional networks and opportunities provided at focus group sessions. Community representatives were spoken to either in person or on the telephone to ascertain willingness to host a site visit. Individuals from one community in each of the three regions agreed. The communities selected were from the northern part of each province, one a fly in community and the others accessible by road.

Formal letters explaining the project and expectations for this stage were sent to the site visit hosts. See *Appendix E* for a copy of the letters. Several telephone calls and letters were needed to finalize preparations for the 6-8 day visits.

3.3.4 b Conducting the Site Visit Interviews

In each community there was a host that introduced us to the community and arranged the specific interviews. Between 10 and 12 interviews were conducted with community members. The same process used in the key informant interviews was used with the site visit interviewees, that is face to face interviews including discussion of confidentiality and use of the interview responses for the project.

3.3.4 c Follow-up to the Site Visits

Transcription of the responses followed the same process as those of the key informants. Follow up telephone calls to participants were undertaken to ensure review of the transcripts and completion of the *Consent Forms*.

Site visit participants will also receive a copy of the final project report.

3.3.5 Stage Five - Final Report

The final report will contain a detailed a description of all aspects of the study. All participants involved in the study will receive a copy.

3.4 Survey Instruments

There were distinct questionnaires developed for each of the three data collection stages, that is, the key informant, focus group and case study stages. The questionnaires were developed based

on a series of questions unique to each of the study's goals and objectives. The *Key Informant Questionnaire* was based directly on these questions. The *Focus Group Questions* were fewer in number but asked about the same topic areas as the *Key Informant Questionnaire*. These questions confirmed and elaborated on those found in the *Key Informant Questionnaire*. Questions asked of the site visit participants served the same purpose. There were seven different questionnaires developed for the case study stage: *Chief and/or Councillors Questionnaire, First Nations Administrators Questionnaire, Elders Questionnaire, Child Care Administrators Questionnaire, Caregivers Questionnaire, Parent Questionnaire* and *Community Members Questionnaire*. Questionnaires for each of the stages are found in *Appendices F, G & H.*

The *Key Informant Questionnaire* was divided into three main sections: a) background, b) quality care and c) jurisdiction and authority. In section "A" questions were asked in two main categories: 1) personal experience and knowledge of child care, and 2) social, political and historical influences on the establishment of child care services. Section "B"contained questions in the following categories: 1)perceptions of quality care, 2) programs and policies, and 3) indicators of quality: environment, caregivers, training, programming, teaching and learning, parent/community involvement, ratio/group size/age mix, and in'ent. Section "C" asked questions about 1) existing legislation, and 2) source and scope of authority.

Focus group questions were fewer than those contained in the *Key Informant Questionnaire*, although they covered the same categories. The questions were found in booklets containing information about First Nations child care specific to each of the regions. The booklets are entitled: *First Nations Quality Child Care, Volume 1 - Ontario, June, 1999, First Nations Quality Child Care, Volume 2 - Saskatchewan, October, 1999* and *First Nations Quality Child Care, Volume 3 - British Columbia, October, 1999*. See *Appendices I, J & K.* Focus group sessions included a sharing of the regional specific information and culminated in participants having an opportunity to respond to the questions.

Case study (site visit) questionnaires were designed to incorporate all the sections and categories included in the key informant and focus group questionnaires. Questionnaires were tailored to solicit and include the diverse views, opinions and perspectives of community members in a variety of roles. The questionnaires are: *Chief and/or Councillors Questionnaire, First Nations Administrators Questionnaire, Elders Questionnaire, Child Care Administrators Questionnaire, Caregivers Questionnaire, Parent Questionnaire* and *Community Members Questionnaire*.

Questionnaires were developed prior to each stage. The *Key Informant Questionnaire* was reviewed by the steering committee and pre-tested. The focus group questions and case study questionnaires were developed based on the sections and categories found in the *Key Informant Questionnaire*. In this way a detailed picture of First Nations quality child care could be painted.

3.5 Participation Rates

There was a 100% participation rate in the key informant and focus group stages of the project and a 66% rate of participation in the case study stage. In this stage one of the site visits failed to materialize despite pre-visit arrangements and on site visit. Many factors can impact research undertaken in communities, for example, lack of adequate relationship with researchers, death, illness, change in community politics, community events and so on.

The following chapter describes the findings and results of the study.

CHAPTER 4

RESULTS

This chapter is made up of four major sections. Section one provides a regional context to the overall findings of the study. In this section demographics specific to the regions involved, including an examination of relevant statistics related to population, employment/unemployment, annual income, education levels, child welfare, incarceration rates, and an overview of provincial child care legislation are reviewed. The overview of child care legislation examines staff:child care ratios, group size, staff qualifications, parental involvement, licensing and family day homes. A brief description of First Nations services in each region concludes the section.

Section two examines historical, social and political influences on the development and delivery of child care services. Section three identifies aspects of quality child care based on individuals perceptions of: First Nations quality child care, caregiving, caregivers, training, programming, teaching and learning environment, parent and community involvement, and ratio/group size and age mix.

The fourth section of this chapter examines legislative aspects of child care. Existing child care legislative regimes, supports created by those regimes, and barriers for First Nations child care associated with current child care regimes are described. The source and scope of First Nations authority in child care, and values that should be included in a First Nations child care authority are also examined.

REGIONAL CONTEXT

The three regions involved in this study, Ontario, Saskatchewan and British Columbia, each provide a unique perspective on First Nations quality child care. In Ontario First Nations specific child care services have existed and been organised in a systematic manner since 1965. The *Canada/Ontario Agreement Respecting Welfare Programs for Indians* signed in 1965 provided for the cost sharing of child care services between the federal and provincial governments for families and children living on Indian reserves. With 35 years of experience developing and delivering child care services in their communities, First Nation in Ontario were a natural participant for the study.

Like only two other regions in Canada (New Brunswick and Nova Scotia) the province of Saskatchewan does not license child care services on Indian reserve lands. The *First Nations/Inuit Child care Initiative* (1994), a federal program administered by Human Resources Development Canada requires First Nations child care to be licensed. As a result First Nations in Saskatchewan devised their own licensing scheme. The exercise of this responsibility provides a unique opportunity to examine how First Nations may develop their own licensing structures.

Child care services in British Columbia were virtually non-existent prior to the *Child Care Initiatives Funds* (CCIF, 198-1995) and the *First Nations/Inuit Child Care Initiative* (FNICCI, 1994-date). In 1995 there was a total of 14 First Nations specific child care centers licensed by the province. After injecting funds from the FNICCI more than 58 First Nations specific child care centers provide a unique opportunity to examine how provincial legislation impacts on the development and delivery of First Nations child care services.

The following pages provide a description of the three regions selected to participate in the study. This description is divided into three categories: demographics, child care legislation, and First Nations child care services. The demographics category consists of general information related to population statistics, education levels (entry and completion), traditional workforce participants, income level, and related socio-economic statistics.

The category on child care legislation describes the child care regime in place in each province, including licensing standards, caregiver qualifications, subsidies, and parental/community involvement. The category on First Nations child care services describes the current level of child care services delivered on Indian reserves, and historical development of First Nations specific child care services in each region.

4.1 Demographics

4.1.1 Population

Ontario is by far the largest First Nations populated region in Canada. The Department of Indian Affairs reported in 1997 that there were 142,408 registered First Nations people in Ontario. It is important to note that this statistic relates to 'registered' Indians (often referred to as 'status' Indians), and does not include non-status First Nations persons, Metis, and persons whom are entitled to be registered as Indians however are not registered for a variety of reasons. Conservative estimates of the total First Nations population in Ontario (registered, non registered, Metis and others) have been set at 280,000.

The Department of Indian Affairs reported in 1997 that there were 104,411 registered First Nations people in British Columbia. Like the Ontario statistics, the Departmental estimates do not include non-status First Nations persons, Metis, and persons entitled to be registered as Indians. Unofficial estimates set the total First Nations population in British Columbia at 200,000.

In Saskatchewan the Department of Indian Affairs estimated that there were 97,776 registered First Nations people in 1997. Unofficial estimates set the total First Nations population in Saskatchewan at 175,000.
In Ontario, British Columbia, and Saskatchewan the registered First Nations population nearly doubled between 1982 and 1997. Current estimates of the rate of population increase suggest that the registered First Nations population will increase 2% per year, or 1.8 times higher than that of the Canadian population.

Almost one half of all registered First Nations people live off reserve lands in urban and rural settings. Twenty years ago approximately 30% of registered First Nation people lived off reserve lands in urban and rural settings. The trend to migrate to larger urban settings, and in particular outside Indian reserve lands, is not surprising considering the level of employment, average annual income on reserve lands, and availability of housing on reserve lands.

4.1.2 Employment/Unemployment

In a report prepared for the Royal Commission on Aboriginal People (1996) Kerr, Siggner and Bordeau report that an analysis of 1991 Aboriginal census results reveal unemployment rates for Aboriginal people were 2.5 times higher than that of the non-Aboriginal population. Moreover, unemployment rates for Aboriginal people increased from the preceding 10 year period at rates between 1.8 and 1.5 times higher than those for non-Aboriginal people. It was also reported that unemployment rates are higher among males than females and among younger (15-24 years) people versus older Aboriginal people.

The Department of Indian Affairs reported that in 1991, 45.2% (or 27,970) registered status First Nations persons residing on reserve lands in Ontario were actively participating in the work force (ie. traditional wage earning economy). In contrast an average of 42% of the total registered on-reserve First Nations population were beneficiaries of social assistance in 1991. The large number of social assistance beneficiaries suggests that a large percentage of registered First Nations people residing on reserve lands participate in the work force in seasonal or temporary jobs.

More than 55% (or 25,489) of registered status First Nations people residing on reserve lands in British Columbia actively participated in the 1991 work force. Registered status First Nations people residing on reserve lands in Saskatchewan, on the other hand, participated in the work force at the rate of 37.5% (or 15,890).

Most Aboriginal people were employed in the services industry, construction and clerical field. The employment trends of Aboriginal people were similar to the non-Aboriginal population except for the fact that there were fewer non-Aboriginal people in the construction industry and more in the management/administration industries.

4.1.3 Annual Income

Kerr, Siggner and Bourdeau (1996) report that the average annual income for registered First Nations people in 1991 was $12,950, approximately 9% less than ten years earlier. In the same period the annual income for non-Aboriginal people increased by 4.3%, suggesting that Aboriginal people, and in particular registered First Nations people, experienced a lower level of economic well being in 1990 compared with 1980, and that the income gap between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal populations grew during that period.

4.1.4 Education Levels

The education level of Aboriginal people is often referred to as an indicator of socio-economic status. Overall the education level of Aboriginal people has increased drastically in the last 12 years. The total number of on-reserve registered children enrolled in kindergarten, elementary and secondary school was 112,000 in 1996/97, a full 33% increase from 1987/88. Similarly, the percentage of children who remained in school until grade 12 increased to 71% in 1996/97 from 37% in 1987/88.

While the education level of Aboriginal people has dramatically increased since 1987/88, post secondary enrolment and completion rates of Aboriginal people lag significantly behind those of non-Aboriginal people. In 1995/96 the total number of registered First Nations aged 17-34 enrolled in post secondary institute (university or college) was 13,780 or 6.9% of the registered First Nations population aged 17-24. In contrast there were 899,000 non-Aboriginal people aged 17-34 enrolled in post secondary institute in 1995/96, or 11% of that population.

The total number of registered First Nations and Inuit graduates from a post-secondary institute in the 1995/96 academic school year was 3,929.

4.1.5 Child Welfare

Since the 1960's the number of Aboriginal children in care of child welfare authorities has remained constant at approximately 4% of the total number of children under the age of 16 years. In some regions this percentage is considerably higher. Certainly in rural and remote parts of the country there are greater numbers of Aboriginal children in care of child welfare authorities (Warf, 1986).

The Department of Indian Affairs reported in 1997 that there were a total of 4,807 registered First Nations children in care of child welfare authorities in 1996/97. It is important to underscore that this only related to numbers of registered children, and does not include children who are entitled to be registered as Indians, Metis, or non-status First Nation children.

In 1998 the Children's Commissioner (BC) reported that in British Columbia alone more than 3,000 children in care were of Aboriginal descent (only a portion of which were registered First Nation children). This represented a clear one-third of all children in care in the province in the same time period. More startling however was the revelation that up to 80% of all children in continuing care (ie. permanent care) in northern rural and remote parts of British Columbia were of Aboriginal descent.

4.1.6 Rates of Incarceration

The number of Aboriginal people in penal institutions across Canada are disproportionately higher than any other cultural group in the country. While Aboriginal people represented approximately 3% of the total Canadian population, Aboriginal people made up more than 12% of federal inmates. In a similar vein, of the total number of 1997 provincial admissions to penal

institution in Manitoba, 55% were of Aboriginal descent. In Saskatchewan, Aboriginal people made up 72% of provincial admissions in 1997. (see R. v. Glaude, [1999] 1 SCR 688)

4.1.7 Retention of Languages

There are at least 56 specific Aboriginal languages indigenous to areas within Canada. Within each of these languages there can be several dialects that reflect regional variations of a specific language. Since contact with European peoples Aboriginal languages have seriously declined to the point where many are facing imminent extinction. It is estimated by researchers that only four Aboriginal languages currently spoken in Canada will survive through the next generation and beyond. (AFN, 1996)

In British Columbia there are 35 Aboriginal languages and approximately 14,000 individuals that are functional speakers of these languages. Experts estimate that there are fewer than 650 speakers under the age of 15 years, suggesting that all Aboriginal languages in the province are facing extinction. (Poser, 2000)

In Ontario and Saskatchewan the majority of speakers are from languages that are expected to live beyond the next generation (Cree and Anishnawbe). To retain these and other languages, however, it is imperative that children are taught to be functional speakers.

Discussion

An overview of the statistics relating to First Nations people in each of the regions involved in this national study reveals First Nations people are employed at significantly lower rates than others in Canadian society, First Nations people have lower levels of education and enter or complete post secondary programs at disproportionately lower rates.

The statistics also reveal greater numbers of First Nations children in care of child welfare authorities, greater numbers of First Nations people in penal institutions, and more people in receipt of social assistance than any other grouping in Canada. The preservation and retention of community languages is also a critical issue for First Nations people.

These trends suggest that the need for child care in Aboriginal community is not only to support working parents or parents pursuing education, but also to reinforce traditional extended family ties, and to provide opportunities for respite and temporary care, and the survival of Aboriginal languages.

4.2 Child Care Legislation

A comparison of child care legislation in Ontario, Saskatchewan and British Columbia shows each jurisdiction approaches the regulation of child care in relatively the same manner. They attempt to achieve quality child care by regulating the environment of child care centres (including: caregiver qualifications, staff:child ratios, group sizes, centre dimensions and specifications).

Numerous research studies (see Chapter 2, Literature Review) support the notion that quality care for children in out of home settings is achieved by regulating staff/child ratios, caregiver qualifications and centre specifications. While research also establishes that parental/community involvement, programming and mixed aged groupings play a significant role in achieving quality child care, very few (if any) jurisdictions in Canada venture into regulating these aspects of care for children.

Outlined below is the child care legislation and regulatory schemes in Ontario, Saskatchewan and British Columbia. A comparison between theme areas is included.

4.2.1 Staff/Child Ratio and Group Size

The staff/child ratio and group size for the province of **Ontario** is as follows:

AGE	STAFF/CHILD RATIO	MAX. GROUP SIZE
0 - 8 months	1:3	10
18 mos - 2 years	1:5	15
2 - 5 years	1:8	16
5 - 6 years	1:12	24
6 - 10 years	1:15	30

The staff/child ratio and group size for the province of **Saskatchewan** is as follows:

AGE	STAFF/CHILD RATIO	MAX. GROUP SIZE
0 - 18 mos	1:3	6
18 mos - 29 mos	1:5	10
30 mos - 6 years	1:10	20
5 years - older	1:15	15

The staff/child ratio and group size for the province of **British Columbia** is as follows:

AGE	STAFF/CHILD RATIO	MAX. GROUP SIZE
0 - 3 years	1:4	12
30 mos - 6 years	1:8	25
Preschool	1:10	20
School Age	1:10 - 15	20 - 25
Special Needs	1:4	16 - 20

While the ratio of staff per child in child care centres is consistent between all regions, it is important to underscore that British Columbia is the only region that regulates special needs. Similarly, maximum group size in child care centres is relatively consistent between regions.

No region contemplates care for children in multi-age group settings. In fact each regulatory scheme requires children to be cared for in specific age groupings, where each age grouping has a designated space in a child care centre. This is significant for First Nations people who believe that mentoring is an essential aspect of care for children, where children of all ages are cared for in one setting.

4.2.2 Staff Qualifications

Both Ontario and Saskatchewan have similar qualification requirements for staff supervisors in child care centres. Supervisors must have a two year diploma in Early Childhood Education (ECE) from an approved College of Applied Arts and Technology, and two years experience working in a centre with children who are the same age and developmental level as the children in the centre where the supervisor is employed.

In British Columbia supervisors in child care centres must have completed basic Early Childhood Education i.e. 10 months of training, and 500 hours of supervised work experience. If supervisors are working with infant and/or toddlers they must also have specialized training in infant/toddler care and education.

Staff qualifications for special needs/resource educators are similar for Ontario and Saskatchewan. A special needs/resource educator must have an ECE diploma and have completed a post secondary school program related to children with special needs. They also require a first aid certificate. In British Columbia special needs educators are required to complete specialized training related to children with special needs.

Ontario and British Columbia specify staff requirements for age groupings in child care centres, while Saskatchewan does not. In Ontario one staff member with each group of children must have a two year ECE diploma or equivalent. In British Columbia there must be one staff with ECE training and one infant/toddler educator for each group of children under 36 months; one staff with ECE training and one assistant for each group of children 30 months to school age; and, one special needs educator for every group of four children or fewer, plus an assistant for groups larger than four children.

4.2.3 Parental Involvement

British Columbia and Ontario do not specify the type of parental involvement required in child care centres. However, in Ontario each centre and private home day care agency must have a written statement regarding parental involvement.

Saskatchewan regulations require that each child care centre establish a parent advisory committee. The regulations also specify that each committee appoint a chair, identify the responsibilities of the committee, and presentation of meeting minutes.

4.2.4 Licensing, Monitoring and Enforcement

Each region involved in the study has established a punitive system to enforce the child care regime adopted in their province. Generally, such a system operates on the basis that licensees are required to meet minimum statutory requirements or risk losing their license.

Licensing officers (also known as program advisors or consultants) are not required to have a background in early childhood education. They enforce regulations on the basis of the letter of the law and have discretion to cite, close down or grant interim licenses with requirements the licensee must meet over time.

British Columbia and Ontario have appeal processes in place to review decisions of licensing officers or program advisors that impact on service delivery, conditions of a license or any exercise of their discretion. Decisions of program consultants in Saskatchewan cannot be appealed.

4.2.5 Family Day Homes

Each region involved in the study regulates family day homes. The maximum number of children cared for in a day home varies between regions: in Ontario the maximum is five, in Saskatchewan eight, and in British Columbia seven.

Greater emphasis is placed on the number of children allowed in a day home based on age groupings. In Ontario the service cannot have more than two children under two, and not more than three children under three (including the caregivers children). In Saskatchewan not more than five children can be under six years, and not more than two children can be under 30 months. In British Columbia there can be no more than five preschoolers and two school age children, three children under three years of age and only one child under one year old.

Staff in family day homes must be either 18 or 19 years of age depending on the region, and have completed first aid training (in British Columbia and Saskatchewan, but only if working with special needs children in Ontario) and a 60 hour orientation course (only in Saskatchewan).

Ontario and Saskatchewan have specific monitoring and enforcement schemes for family day homes, where a 'home visitor' visits the home quarterly to ensure minimum statutory standards are being met. Family day homes in British Columbia are monitored in the same way that child care centres are monitored (usually involving annual visits).

4.3 First Nations Child Care Services

A number of milestones have been achieved in First Nations child care services in Canada. A more detailed description of those milestones are provided in Chapter Two of this report. Outlined below is a time line summary of some of the milestones in child care that are relevant to First Nations child care services.

First Nations Child Care in Canada - Milestones

1965	Canada/Ontario Agreement Respecting Welfare Programs for Indians
1966	Hawthorne Report
1980	Royal Commission on the Status of Women
1984	National Task Force on Child Care
1987	Special Committee on Child Care - Sharing Responsibility
1988	National Commission on Aboriginal Child Care (Native Council of Canada)
1988 - 1998	Child Care Initiatives Fund (HRDC)
1989	The National Inquiry into First Nations Child Care (Assembly of First Nations)
1990	Native Child Care: The Circle of Care (Native Council of Canada)
1992	Brighter Futures Initiative (Health Canada)
1993	Social Security Discussion Paper (HRDC)
1994	National Overview of First Nations Child Care in Canada (Assembly of First Nations)
	First Nations and Inuit Child Care Initiative announced (HRDC)
	Aboriginal Head Start Initiative announced for Northern and Remote Communities Of Reserve (Health Canada)
1996	Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal People
1997	National Children's Agenda announced
1998	Aboriginal Head Start announced On Reserve (Health Canada)
	National Child Benefit Program

From the above overview it is clear that with the exception of Ontario, First Nations child care did not become a national issue until the 1980s. Whereas, child care services for Canadians generally became a national concern in the 1940s, when the federal government established programs intended to assist and encourage women to enter the workforce as part of Canada's contribution to the war effort of WW II. In that era the federal government contributed 50% of child care costs for mothers that worked in war related industries.

The *Canada Assistance Plan* (CAP) was introduced in the 1960s and child care was treated akin to other social service programs. Funding for child care under CAP was based on a 50/50 federal and provincial cost sharing arrangement where child care was available to the needy and potentially needy families. Services funded by CAP had to be regulated and not-for-profit. Child care shifted from employment based services to a combination of employment and amelioration based services.

More recently child care policy has endorsed "high quality" child care for parents seeking education and employment opportunities. For mainstream Canada there is no question that the primary purpose of child care is to provide parents with an opportunity to seek employment or educational experiences.

In contrast, First Nations people view child care as pivotal to the involvement of First Nations in all sectors in society. Child care in First Nations communities continues to be considered an

important component of strengthening the capacity of First Nations communities, as well as ensuring the transmission of culture and language. For many parents, families and communities child care is a means to support the cultural survival of their communities.

4.3.1 Ontario

Ontario funds and licenses on reserve child care. As of September, 1998 there were 153 licensed child care centres on reserve with a capacity to service 2,159 children. There were also 13 centres off reserve with the capacity to service 356 Aboriginal children, and three private day care agencies with 62 homes serving Aboriginal children. The *Day Nurseries Act* treats Indian Bands like municipalities for the purpose of child care funding and administration. Expenses are cost shared with the federal government through the 1965 *Canada/Ontario Agreement Respecting Welfare Programs for Indians*.

4.3.2 British Columbia

The province of British Columbia licenses on reserve child care by invitation. As of September, 1995 there were 14 licensed child care centres on reserves. The *First Nations Inuit Child Care Initiative* (1994) has created 678 new child care spaces as of January, 1999. By September, 1998 there were a total of 58 licensed child centres on reserves, and approximately 20 awaiting license approval.

The (BC) *Community Care Facility Act* and related regulations govern licensing of child care services. Expenses for on reserve child care services are funded primarily through the *First Nations Inuit Child Care Initiative* (1994), while most centres also access provincial grants and subsidies for service delivery. Provincial grants and subsidies are governed by the *BC Benefits (Child Care) Act*.

4.3.3 Saskatchewan

Since 1995 First Nations in Saskatchewan have participated in the *First Nations/Inuit Child Care Initiative* (1994). Unlike most other jurisdictions in Canada, the Province of Saskatchewan does not license services on reserve lands. As of 1995 there were three licensed child care agencies for Aboriginal children living off reserve.

Since the Province of Saskatchewan does not license services on reserve lands, First Nations and Tribal Councils have developed their own regulations and standards for child care services. These regulations are in draft form and have yet to be approved by the respective First Nations authorities.

The *First Nations/Inuit Child Care Initiative* (1994) has resulted in the development of approximately 45 on reserve child care facilities. Approximately 15% of all licensed child care programs not on reserve have a strong Aboriginal program component.

Provincial child care funding programs including supervision grants, equipment grants, and child development initiatives, are not made available to First Nations developing and delivering child care services on Indian reserve lands.

INFLUENCES

Participants in the study were asked to identify the key influences on the development of child care services in their community. This section identifies historical, social and political influences affecting the establishment of child care services on reserve as identified by key informants from Ontario, Saskatchewan and British Columbia.

4.4 Historical

My mother went to residential school. I learned from her animosity toward religion and government. It would have been easier if I learned how to be a parent from my parents. This would have happened if my parents knew how to be parents, learning from their parents. I didn't go to residential school but I still deal with it. (Gilbert Parnell, Skidegate Indian Band, British Columbia)

- There is a fear that day care will replace residential school as an institution for children.
- Child day care centres are not traditional to communities. The shift of caring for children within the extended family to centre based care is new to communities.
- Traditional child care systems are deteriorating and there is a lack of traditional child care systems in place today.
- Traditional child rearing practices have impacted the development of First Nations child care services.
- Colonization of all forms have influenced First Nations communities to a point where there is loss of cultural and traditional practices, values and principles. Colonization was primarily carried out through the imposition of residential schools. Children were denied loving, nurturing parents. One result of this specific deprivation is a lack of confidence in parenting skills.
- The *Indian Act* and the dependency it creates has impacted the development of child care services.

4.5 Social

There are many social factors that impact on the development of child care services. There has been a social change among our people. When people all lived in their communities children were speakers of the language. This is not the case today mainly because many people live outside their community.

Rates of unemployment have a lot to do with the development of child care services. Unemployment is a stress on the family and will either break or cause other social problems for families. Alcohol and drug abuse in this sense impacts on child care services. (Youlanda Spenst, Lake Babine Nation, British Columbia.)

- Child poverty and hunger is one of the most common social influences impacting child care.

- History, poverty and socio-economic conditions have lead to numerous abuses and violence. All forms of abuse in communities impact child care services, resulting in special needs children with Fetal Alcohol Syndrome/Fetal Alcohol Effect (FAS/FAE) and developmental delays.

- Family violence is also common. Violence and alcohol abuse can be traced to loss of traditional lands.

- Many parents are children themselves. They need to be taught basic parenting skills.

- Community members perceive child care services as babysitting rather than a service that is developmentally healthy for children.

- The role of the Department of Indian Affairs in our communities has had a devastating effect. Welfare programs take away the desire to work and continue the welfare cycle.

- Bill C-31 created increased demand for services in communities, including housing, employment, education and child care services.

4.6 Political

Local community politics impact on the development of child care services on reserve lands. Chief and council change every 2 years and child care services may not be the priority of who ever is on council. This is not very stable for child care services. (Deanna Cook and Rosalind Williams, Spallumcheen Band, British Columbia)

- Child care is not often a priority locally, regionally or nationally. Children do not vote so how can they be seen as a priority.

- Community politics has a significant impact on child care services. Because communities are family oriented decisions are often based on the family rather than on the needs of the child. As a result family dynamics often influence who works in child care centres and what children receive services.

- Frequent change of Chief and Council often leave child care services to the whim of whoever is on council.

- There is a need for greater access to policy decision makers so there is funding for services in communities.

- Child care is often viewed as a women's issue. It is also seen as a way to create jobs.

- Child care is viewed as a treaty right therefore community members believe they should not have to pay for services.

- It is politically correct to be involved in child care. Child care services offer a way to deal with the impact of residential schools.

- Child care services need the total support of the community including all other band programs.

ASPECTS OF QUALITY

Respondents who were either key informants, focus group participants or site visit participants were asked questions that illicit their views of quality First Nations quality child care. This section is divided into several categories: quality child care is ..., caregivers, caregiver training, children's programming, teaching and learning, parent/community involvement and ratio/group size/age mix. Each category identifies consistent themes that emerged.

4.7 First Nations Quality Child Care Is ...

> *Child care is part of our dreams for self-determination and self-government. To have productive members of our community we have to start when children are born. It is in our best interests to care for and protect children. Child care is teaching values as children grow. It is an integral part of our plans for self-determination. We always talk about our children being our future. Child care makes sure we make healthy leaders for tomorrow. (Gilbert Parnell, Skidegate Indian Band, British Columbia)*

- Quality child care is a safe place where children learn, have fun and feel loved. These aspects of quality child care would exist from the point of entry to the time a child graduates from the program.

- Quality child care is a service where everyone involved is satisfied: where there are happy children, satisfied parents, and staff who are content with the service they are delivering. It is important to have qualified staff and volunteers. The service should involve people who are nurturing and healthy mentally, spiritually, emotionally and physically.

- A quality care program consists of a safe, nurturing and relaxing atmosphere. Quality care is holistic and includes culture, language, and education so children are provided with opportunities to gain independence, self-esteem, pride and dignity. Children's physical, mental, spiritual and emotional well being are also fostered in quality care. In this type of case there is a health and safety awareness program complete with guidelines and policies that everyone follows.

- The purpose of quality child care is to reassure parents that the program is good and their children will be safe. A quality child care service meets the needs of children, parents and the community. The child care service is a resource and support to the family and extended family where services are affordable and parents feel that the service belongs to them. Services should also support healthy care of children in the home by providing parents with education and social skills.

- Quality child care service would be educational and provide integrated cultural lessons. A child care centre would involve the community and be accountable.

- A quality child care centre would have an open door policy, where staff nurture and teach children in a safe and healthy environment. The centre would also encourage sibling interaction, and positive communication between parents, children and staff. Hot lunch programs and healthy snacks give better opportunities for children to learn.

- To ensure quality child care services it is necessary to have rules and regulations in place, adequate resources in the centre, food guidelines for health and nutrition, and appropriate policy manuals. It may also be necessary to provide transportation for children attending a centre and a community toy lending library.

- The intent of First Nations child care services is to:

  1. enhance community development and growth;
  - to ensure that the next generation is looked after;
  - provide a safe and consistent place for children;
  - instill language and culture in children;
  - provide opportunities for children to learn school readiness so they can succeed as students in the formal education system;
  - meet the needs of parents who want to work or further their education; and
  - support the family in providing for the healthy growth and development of their children.

4.8 Environment

The physical environment of child care centres should include materials that allow children to manipulate and develop their motor skills. Materials that reflect nature and our traditions, such as dolls, turtle rattles, songs, traditional clothing, dream catchers, pottery and utensil, will increase children's knowledge and expose them to their culture and heritage. (Arliss Skye, Six Nations of the Grand River First Nation, Ontario)

- The environment should be safe for children.

- Materials and equipment should reflect the community and enhance child development. To do so is a quiet affirmation of who we are.

- Equipment and materials that strengthen knowledge of local histories and community allow children to be more competent about their culture.

- It is important that child care centres incorporate toys and items made by community members.

- Reflecting the natural physical environment of the community is especially important so that individuals can develop an appreciation for how the facility promotes holistic learning.

- A quality child care program is well resourced with learning aids from the environment, traditional customs and mainstream schooling. The centre would have toys, a class pet, and various stations for learning, crafting and storytelling. The kitchen would be equipped with cooking aids so food preparation can be taught. The centre would also contain safety and emergency plans and equipment.

- The environment should be inviting, with caring staff and resource people that encourage children and parents to be a part of the centre. The environment should include equipment and materials that are age and culturally appropriate, with learning centres for science, water play and art. The child care centre should also has an office/resource area to develop curriculum.

4.9 Caregivers

It is important to have people from the community at schools whose careers involve looking after children. In other words being a caregiver should be their life work. A person shouldn't simply work in the area because it's a job. Historically there was work in the community based on lifelong responsibilities. Individuals stepped up and accepted lifelong responsibility.

Caregivers should want to and be happy to do the work they do so that they thrive on it. Most people today are not students of their job. When you find those who are students of their job, those gems have a chance of doing something real special. These people are hard to come by. Looking after children a long time ago was a huge responsibility and an important job. (Chief Clarence Louie, Osoyoos Indian Band, British Columbia)

- Caregivers in Aboriginal child care settings should be Aboriginal and from the community. Aboriginal children readily relate to Aboriginal caregivers and can identify with them.

- It is important that caregivers come from the community that they work in or at least be known or have some connections to it.

- If caregivers are not Aboriginal they must, at the very least, be culturally sensitive.

- Caregivers need to be healthy, loving people who have gone through their own healing. They should be stable, consistent and have good standing in the community.

- Caregivers should represent different age groupings young and old, and include grandparents, aunties, uncles and parents.

- Caregivers should speak the traditional language of the nation. However, the reality is that most people do not speak their traditional language. In this case it is important to be open to learning the language and listening to Elders for advice on what to teach the children.

- Caregivers should interact with children in a manner that is consistent with the positive ways of children's community and home life. They should also be sensitive to the ways in which children learn.

- The child care centre should enlist the help of many people. Qualified early childhood educators, community members, Elders, parents, siblings, community artists, extended family, language educators, cooks, resource people and of course children contribute to the running of a child care centre.

4.9.1 Training

Caregivers should be trained as early childhood educators. It is better for children if there are consistent caregivers in the child care centre. The ideal caregiver must love children, have knowledge of the culture and language from the area they work in, and have training and experience with child development. It is also important that caregivers have an understanding of family structures. (Frances Sutherland, Moose Cree First Nation, Ontario)

- All caregivers need to learn their language and culture, and practice both on a regular basis.

- It is important for caregivers to be educated in early childhood education. Early childhood educators are proud that they are qualified and certified caregivers. It is also important for them to have an opportunity for on-going certification and training.

- Caregivers should be trained but being trained as an early childhood educator in a mainstream college alone is not enough. Often caregivers with only this training see themselves as experts and think that they do not have to learn anymore.

- Current ECE training programs are not culturally appropriate, community appropriate or relevant to community based services. There are no First Nations designed early childhood training programs. If we want our own First Nations ECE training programs we need to accredit our own experiences and skills, for example life experience.

- Workers in the child care centre should be early childhood educators with infant/toddler certification. They should also have training in native studies and special needs. Educators should be healthy, possess cultural awareness, interpersonal skills and the ability to respectfully communicate their positive life experiences.

- It is also important for caregivers to have life skills training that involves Elders. This training should be written by First Nations people.

- Caregivers in family day homes should at the very least complete a six week orientation course.

- All caregivers must have first aid certification, cardio pulmonary resuscitation (CPR) training, a completed Canadian Policy Information Centre (CPIC) (otherwise referred to as a criminal records check), food handling training, and knowledge of Hepatitis B and immunization records.

4.10 Programming

It is important to incorporate community timing into programming as it helps restore the sense of community and community values. When working with children this should be the ultimate goal, involving parents. Ceremonies should be included in programming because it is an important part of learning and developing the concept of trust. It is important to respect all ceremonies in the community. (Corrina Kinequon, Touchwood File Hills Tribal Council, Saskatchewan)

- Child care centres must include programming that is developmentally appropriate, age appropriate and provide opportunities for children, caregivers, parents and community members to learn from each other. It is important to include children with special needs as an integrated part of all programming.

- Child care centres have a responsibility to provide learning opportunities for children in ways that parents cannot, for example, reading to children.

- Routines and activities should reflect a child's community/home life if they are healthy and good for the child. In some cases routines and activities could supplement parenting.

- Local seasonal activities should be incorporated into programing such as fishing, hunting, harvesting and the like. There is a fine balance between reflecting the community and incorporating the flexibility to meet children's needs.

- The content of what is taught and how it is taught should reflect the community/home life of the children. Having community caregivers as role models, using storytelling and nature in teaching are important aspects for Aboriginal children's learning.

- Programming should reflect the traditional values and beliefs of the community with opportunities for children to participate in traditional activities. Local community

ceremonies should also be incorporated, although caution should be used to ensure respect for all children's beliefs.

- Programming should also include opportunities for older siblings to help younger children.

- Programming should include activities hosted by the community, such as summer and winter festivals.

- It is important to incorporate community training into programming because it helps restore a sense of community and community values.

4.11 Teaching/Learning

The content of teaching should most definitely reflect the community and home life of children. We need to teach our children our ways, including kindness and respect in our daily lives. It is important to learn how to be a part of the community, learning to respect and understand other people, to share, be honest and follow thruough with what you say you are going to do. (Mary Rose Opekokew, Canoe Lake First Nation, Saskatchewan)

- Activities and learning opportunities should include developing a capacity for life long learning, and curriculum that incorporates community activities such as berry picking, herb picking, and trapping.

- While it is important for children to learn about their own culture it is equally important to teach children about the bigger world so that they appreciate all diversities, including other cultures and persons with special needs.

- The content of teaching should validate the culture of the children's community. Language should also be integrated into children's activities.

- Children should have an opportunity to participate in all types of learning activities that incorporate different learning styles and reflect positive development of children.

- Children should be taught in a gentle manner and at a level appropriate to their learning and understanding.

- Activities in the child care centre should include: storytelling, dance, songs, crafts and language. These activities teach culture and tradition. Children benefit by attending community ceremonies and traditional gatherings. Children should also be taught to gather and prepare food in traditional ways and learn to craft. These can be taught through field trips to traditional gathering places and Elder involvement in the centre.

- The role of community mentoring and family involvement is important to maintain traditions. Traditional games stimulate gross motor skills, while celebrating special events and birthdays develop important social skills.

- Daily and monthly schedules should enable children to learn at their own pace. While math, science and English are important, the development and enhancement of physical, social, cognitive, language, intellectual, emotional, multi-cultural, and spiritual skills are equally so. It is also important to allow play within the centre so that children are taught self-awareness, respect and co-operation.

4.12 Parent/Community Involvement

Parents and community members should be involved in the direct delivery of child care. The centre should be a place where community members share their gifts with each other and children. (Beverly Peel, Federation of Saskatchewan Indian Nations, Saskatchewan)

- Parents and Elders should be involved in the administration of the child care centre.

- There is some debate whether child care centres should provide learning opportunities for parents: one view is that this is a responsibility of other agencies while another view is that it would encourage greater parental participation in service delivery. The child care centre can provide opportunities where everyone including children, Elders, caregivers and parents learn together.

- The community is the life of the centre where community members participate in programming thereby affirming the role of the child care centre in the community. Community members can provide financial and advisory support, ideas, goals, objectives and long term vision for the centre. Members can promote the centre by communicating their concerns, identifying the role of the centre in the community, facilitating field trips and fund raising.

- The community helps a child care centre grow by keeping the centre accountable while recognizing and appreciating the work of the centre. The community can provide constructive input and assist with policy development. It also has an important role in establishing parent advisory committees.

4.13 Ratio/Group Size/Age Mix

The current ratio is not appropriate. Ratios do not necessarily link to quality care. Family groupings would be more appropriate as children are not separated when they are at home. (Al Lawrence, Cowichan Tribes, British Columbia)

- Ideal adult-child ratios would be less than what is currently outlined in provincial legislation.

- Group size should be small, the ideal would be 16-20 children. On the other hand, some respondents felt that group size did not matter as long as there are an adequate number of adults to care for the children.

LEGISLATIVE ASPECTS

Respondents (key informants, focus groups and site visit participants) were asked to identify barriers and supports created by provincial regulatory schemes for the development and delivery of First Nations child care services. They were also asked to identify the source and scope of First Nations authority in child care. The following section is divided into several categories: current legislation, supports created by legislation, barriers created by legislation, source and scope of First Nations authority, and values in First Nations authority.

4.14 Current Child Care Legislation and Policy

> *Current polices are assimilationist. Services are based on the constitutional division of powers. They are assimilationist because there is no recognition that we are different, have different ways of rearing children, hold a different world view, have different standards in our communities, different ways of thinking and different geographic circumstances. (Nancy Johnson, Toronto, Ontario)*

- There is a relationship between regulations and achieving quality care for First Nations children. Regulations ensure safety for children and services that can be monitored for accountability. Having regulations alone does not mean there is quality care.

- It is necessary to have a licensing process in place, policies and manuals for individual centres, and a process to ensure administrative accountability (whether to Chief and Council or community/parent boards). Child care centre policies must have standard forms for daily attendance, authorizations for medication and treating emergency injuries, along with names of persons to contact and those authorized for drop off or pick up of children.

- It is important to have needs assessments to ensure services match the needs of children, families and community members. It is vital that monitoring processes are in place to ensure policies and procedures are being followed. Monitoring may involve environmental health officers, parents, boards and Chief and Council.

- The administration of a child care centre includes a policy and procedures manual, a behaviour management policy, regular staff meetings and a process for accountability to the First Nations government. It is also important to have accountability to parents. A parent newsletter, brochure on services provided, a parent handbook, workshops, parent nights and open house are ways to ensure accountability to parents and the community.

- It is necessary to have open communication with Chief and Council along with opportunities for local government to view the program and participate in centre activities.

- An active volunteer program ensures that community members, family and council members are involved with the centre. Parent advisory boards with an objective of keeping authority in the centre are easier to establish.

4.15 Supports Created by Child Care Regulatory Schemes

Legislated standards ensure quality care, and assures parents that there is quality care that can be monitored for accountability. (Rebecca Elder, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan)

- Safety and health standards set out in child care regulatory schemes are important for optimum quality child care services.

- Child care regulations keep the number of children in a child care centre at a manageable level, and allow for a conducive working environment.

- For some communities child care regulations allow for the development of their own philosophies that guide programs.

- Child care regulations ensure that caregivers are protected and give a sense of security from liability, so long as the regulations are followed.

- Child care regulatory schemes facilitate the education of early childhood educators, enhance access to staff wage subsidies, ensure safety for children, and make child care services accessible through parental subsidies.

- Child care legislation provides a framework for licensing child care services, community based training, and greater access to funding. Licensed services also provide greater opportunity for parental support and involvement in child care centres.

- Funding is more accessible if guidelines established by regulating authorities are followed. Guidelines set appropriate standards for delivery of services while assisting with training requirements for caregivers.

- Where provincial child care regulatory schemes are not enforced on reserve lands, First Nations have the opportunity and responsibility to develop their own child care regulatory models.

- The development of child care services also creates employment in communities. The creation of First Nations legislation and regulations for child care will result in support for working parents, single parents and parents desiring to go to school. They also support local governance structures, such as Chief and Council and parent boards.

4.16 Barriers Created by Child Care Regulatory Schemes

The Legislation is perceived as a tool of assimilation where bureaucrats are empowered to look out for the 'best interests' of Indians. Often this results in insensitive and racist approaches to enforcement of the legislation. (Nancy Johnson, Toronto, Ontario)

- Health standards may be too restrictive. For example, food served in child care centres must be government certified, preventing traditional foods such as moose, goose, fish and other staple foods in the home from being served.

- The segregation of children by age groupings prevents caring for children in family groupings. This often prevents siblings from being able to interact with each other at the child care centre.

- Current child care policy with respect to subsidies results in the delivery of limited programs. Centres are locked into delivering services that are based on subsideis they receive. All children have a right to education and the current subsidy eliminates children who have parents that are not at school or work.

- There are too few resources to go around. Many centres are operating on the same budgets for the last 7-10 years without increases to reflect the increased cost of living. The cost of living in northern communities is particularly high, yet wages and child care budgets do not reflect the higher cost of living.

- A serious challenge to the delivery of quality child care services is the change in local governments, for example, Chief and Council. This often translates into a change in priority where supports (financial and otherwise) for child care services are not consistent.

- Community perceptions of child care services and the standards reflected in child care regulatory schemes combine to create a number of barriers where:
  - there is lack of parent/community involvement,
  - an institution is created versus a community driven service,
  - service is seen as a baby sitting service,
  - there are insufficient numbers of community trained early childhood educators, and
  - there are not enough resources to support special needs.

- There are very few qualified caregivers that come from the community. This is attributed in part to requirements in regulations that all caregivers have early childhood education certification. There are many community members that have extensive related life experience and have much to offer. Those experiences should be accredited.

- Barriers to quality child care services are created by the enforcement of current legislation. Government funding agencies, community leaders and provincial licensing officers lack knowledge of the needs and challenges for establishing child care services in First Nations

communities. Often there is no flexibility in the enforcement of regulations when it comes to cultural issues.

- Inadequate implementation of special needs child care policies often result in one caregiver caring for more than the number of children with special needs authorized by the regulations. Children with special needs are segregated or get no service at all because there are no resources to assess children with special needs or funding to train staff to become resource workers.

- Child care ratios are restrictive. Higher ratios translate to less quality service where children do not have the optimum environment for learning. There is a need for more caregivers in centres and opportunities for one-on-one care for children.

- It is challenging for caregivers to establish and provide on-going support for culturally appropriate child care programming. It is also challenging to establish trust between the community and child care service because of the difficulty in providing a service that reflects western and traditional cultures.

- Culture clash, quality of life, perception of the centre's services, eligibility for subsidies, accessibility, and acceptance by the community each pose challenges for the implementation of child care services. It is particularly difficult to meet the needs of culture, community, family and children within provincial licensing and federal funding guidelines.

- The ability to secure funding is problematic. Subsidies are not easily awarded and are restricted by provincial guidelines. The inconsistency and lack of funding for child care is challenging. There are few opportunities for child care funding while information about funding bodies, programs and subsidies for on-reserve services are not always available.

- Recent funding initiatives for 'Headstart Programs' have different funding and proposal criteria than other child care initiatives. The lack of coordination between funding agencies is frustrating.

- Legislation requires that caregivers are licensed (certified) before parents receive government subsidies. Provincial legislation restricts multi-age group settings and other traditional child rearing practices. Provincial regulations also specify child-caregiver ratios, room size and fencing. These requirements often set the centre apart from the community.

- The fact that caregivers must be certified as early childhood educators before licenses can be issued, means that caregivers are brought into the community rather than using caregivers from the community, who do not have their early childhood education certification but have life experience equivalent to or greater than trained ECE caregivers.

- Developing child care services on reserve lands requires compliance with federal and provincial legislation. There are inconsistencies between administration requirements for

on and off reserve child care services, as well as funding for child care services. Funding for a particular service may only be available from one government department, resulting in child care centres applying to several levels of government for much needed funding. Centres must also pass provincial and federal inspections. Juggling federal and provincial legislation and administrative bureaucracies is intimidating to service providers.

- Legislation is a top down approach to First Nations child care and is insensitive to our needs, resulting in underpaid and undervalued caregivers.

- Licensing officers and health inspectors need to be open minded to ensure regulations suit continuity of traditions and customs. All First Nations are separate entities and should be treated as such. Equal subsidy from federal and provincial governments would create less work.

- Not all child care workers know the language from the community that they work in. There is also a misconception of what our culture is. Many think of culture as ceremonies and sweetgrass, but it also includes our traditional beliefs about honesty, respect, sharing and caring.

4.17 Source of First Nations Authority in Child Care

First Nations authority should mean First Nations people running the child care centre, guided by the community through local governance models. It would be ideal for First Nations to have the ability to license, set standards and monitor child care centres. Any jurisdiction or authority should be created out of our own law, similar to 'Indian control of Indian education'. In this regard it is important to look toward what is culturally based. If the responsibility for child care is taken on it should come from the family, community and Nation, legislated from our own perspective. (Dr. Jo-Ann Archibald, University of British Columbia, British Columbia)

- First Nations authority in child care is an inherent right that has existed from time immemorial. The ability to exercise this authority is not viewed as deriving from legislation, whether it be the constitution or other subordinate legislation.

- The *Constitution Act, 1982* protects aboriginal rights, including the inherent right to be self-governing. Child care is one aspect of being self-governing. Current child care regulatory schemes do not connect the parent, extended family or communities to the child care service. Allowing First Nations to exercise their inherent right to care for their children will enable them to connect the family, extended family and community to child care services.

- First Nations have full authority over child care services. It is their inherent right where the basic needs of children are met and reinforced with traditional values and beliefs.

- First Nations authority in child care means taking responsibility for child care services, where First Nations people run services guided by their community through local governance structures that involve Chief and Council, local tribal councils and community representatives. Overall it includes the right to have input into all areas of child care.

4.18 Scope of First Nations Authority in Child Care

Our uniqueness should be reflected in child care laws and regulations. First Nations should not mirror non-First Nations communities. We need to continue to be unique. A First Nations jurisdiction would give us the ability to create our own regulations, polices and practices for child care. If it means that caregivers do not need to have an early childhood education degree then that would be alright. (Dixie Shillling, Curve Lake First Nation, Ontario)

- The scope of First Nations authority in child care is viewed as all encompassing, including licensing, monitoring, programming, accreditation of caregivers, establishing appropriate caregiver/child ratios, setting facility standards, and overall standards for the care of children.

- First Nations authority involves the traditional laws of First Nations people, empowering communities to take on plans of care, assessments of need, and actual care of children.

- It is necessary to provide opportunities for community involvement in developing appropriate equipment and supplies for the centre. The community must also have the opportunity to develop appropriate child centred curriculum, involving parents, grandparents and extended families.

- First Nations authority in child care would involve incorporating First Nations values, beliefs and traditions with processes at all levels for involvement of parents, workers, community members, Chief and Council, and national and regional advocates. Child care centres should be licensed by our own authorities so that the service is accessible to all people involved.

- First Nations child care authorities should be based on our ways and philosophies through our own research and development. Our communities must define the level of quality care in the centre where support, networks, evaluations and purpose can be monitored.

- It is vital that child care services follow the teachings of our Elders and reflect children's physical, mental, spiritual and emotional well-being.

4.19 Values in First Nations Authority

Traditionally children are a gift from the creator, they are a treasure that we must care for tenderly and carefully. This principle comes from the notion that everyone should be responsible for caring for a child. (Valerie King-Green, New Credit First Nation, Ontario)

- Teachings of the medicine wheel, the seven grandfathers and community values should all be reflected in a First Nations child care authority.

- The goal of attaining jurisdiction in child care is to preserve the traditions and culture of the community.

- Respect, traditional languages, food preparation, grooming of children, oral tribal laws, religion and spiritual practices are values that should be reflected within the a First Nations child care authority. The centre may be the only place where a child is nurtured with love and affection.

- A First Nations child care authority ought to be flexible so as to envelop child development and all cultures of the community. Current education standards should be incorporated with views from Elder teachings, parents, youth, teachers, staff and council to ensure services are culturally sensitive.

- First Nations see children as our most valued resource. Children require love in an environment that is filled with caring, sharing and empathy. Authority in child care should include these qualities and have respect for diversity in: communities, family groupings, concepts of time, and values and beliefs.

- First Nations authority would enable communities to teach their culture, customs and traditions. It all goes back to respect and honouring our people. What has happened in recent time is that it is easier to think negatively rather than positively. In the past each person had a place in the community, everyone was valuable and no one was apart from the community.

- First Nations child care should reflect parental and community values that speak to safety for children. It is also important for the service and authority to reflect our culture, spirituality and positive healthy values.

- Children should be in mixed age groupings so that siblings can be together and/or younger children can learn from older ones. There are times however when segregated age groupings are best, for example when children are learning specific skills.

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This chapter is divided into four main sections: 1) First Nations Quality Child Care is ..., 2) Influences on First Nations Quality Child Care, 3) Child Care Legislative Regimes and 4) First Nations Legal Responsibility for Child Care. Each section discusses key findings and presents specific recommendations. These recommendations are isolated at the end of the chapter into a chart entitled, "Recommendations at a Glance".

Section one considers aspects of First Nations quality child care including: the context and intent of First Nations child care services, community and parent involvement, environment, caregivers and children's program. In section two the historical, social and political influences on First Nations child care services are discussed. Section three discusses supports and barriers presented by current legislation, while section four considers jurisdiction and authority in First Nations child care.

5.1 First Nations Quality Child Care is ...

This section identifies and discusses characteristics of quality child care services in First Nations communities. While these characteristics appear separate and discreet, they are embedded in a context which manifests itself in each part of this section. The characteristics offer both individual and community views of quality child care in First Nations communities. There are five categories in this section: 1) *Content and Intent*, 2) *Community and Parent Involvement*, 3) *Environment*, 4) *Caregivers* and 5) *Children's Program*.

5.1.1 Context and Intent

The essence of First Nations communities is passed on from generation to generation through the care of children. Mary Thomas (1995) says

> ... though we live today, the teaching of our ancestors is what preserves us as individuals and nations.

> We cannot live in the past. History moves forward. We move but we take with us the beliefs and values of the past. These are the beliefs and values of our people, that our people lived by, that we live by. Teach these things to our children. (Mary Thomas, Personal Communication, 1998).

Study participants spoke of children as special beings who possess gifts to be cherished and nurtured. The children, with their gifts, are the essence of the nation. It is through them that the generations learn and are taught. These underlying beliefs exemplify a fundamental world view where all things, all life, are connected. By contrast a "tabula rasa" view of children compares them to "blank slates" that need to be written on and filled in over time. These children are disconnected from their past and are expected to act upon the world anew. How we view children, how we regard society influences the development of child care services in communities.

First Nations communities have a unique history in Canada. They are the original peoples and cultures of Canada. Today they exist alongside a broader society. Developing child care services for the purpose of passing on culture and language from generation to generation must consider the context of First Nations within broader society. Part of this embodies the social and political relationships First Nations people have had with the federal and provincial governments for the past 150 years. Examination of child care services outside of a cultural, political and social context is to misrepresent its meaning. (Smith, 1999) This context along with First Nations values and beliefs underscores a need for First Nations communities to be actively involved in all aspects of program development including participation at national, provincial, regional and community levels.

Recommendations:

Government programs intended for First Nations peoples should consider: 1) including communities directly in the development of the program; 2) incorporating time lines that would allow communities opportunity to consult with their members in determining and defining their specific child care program; and 3) including flexible opportunities for communities to define and develop administration and governance structures.

With the inception of child care services on reserve in 1995 there has been a focus on preparing children for formal education in school. For example, the Aboriginal Head Start Programs, both on reserve and urban and northern components, have school readiness skills specifically identified as part of their programs. The reality is that most children will enter provincial education systems at some time in their academic education. They will be expected to have a specific knowledge and skill set. Without this knowledge and skill children will have a difficult time succeeding. The need for this focus is obvious in the deplorably low education success rates for First Nations students of all ages.

Equally low are employment rates on reserve. In most communities employment rates are well below those experienced in broader society. As a result fewer parents are employed. While child care services as supports for working parents is paramount in broader society this rationale does not carry the same weight in on reserve communities. This is not because it doesn't carry the same importance for working parents but rather the intensity of need reflects the low employment rates.

The same reduced emphasis on child care services as supports for parents attending education or training programs can be said, however the rationale differs. While the desire to attend education or training programs is strong, accessibility to them is often limited. Access to post secondary education and training is extremely limited especially for isolated and remote communities.

Recommendations:

Develop child care services that are accessible to all families. Ensure that community is consulted in the development of the children's program. Develop and implement children's programming that incorporates school readiness skills presented in a developmental and meaningful way.

Lobby government and educational institutions for the delivery of community based education programs. Explore existing and develop new educational opportunities for community members.

One of the challenges to developing community specific programs is the need to articulate the socialization and care of children within the community. To complicate this even further is tension between traditional and contemporary child rearing practices where behaviours that exemplify the values and beliefs of the community have changed over time. Likewise these practices vary between families and bands within nations.

Recommendations:

Ensure that community consultations are inclusive of all community constituents and ideas. Facilitate the development of a community statement with respect to the care of children. Support the development of child care service components, infrastructure and administration that reflect the community's direction.

5.1.2 Community and Parent Involvement

Study participants view the child care centre as an integral part of the community where the whole community can work together for the good of the children and everyone including children, Elders, parents, caregivers and community members can learn. Several stated that attendance and participation by community members in the centre affirms its' role in the community and serves to keep it accountable to everyone involved.

In some cases the child care centre and its' services are viewed as an extension of the family, a place where children may learn things that parents aren't able to teach them, for example, specific reading skills. This view reinforces the need for parents to be directly involved in the child care services and administration not only for the children but for themselves.

The most significant challenge to community and parental involvement is difficulty ensuring consistent involvement. Many parents who work or attend school do not have time to participate directly in the child care program. Some study participants are of the opinion that child care centres should provide learning opportunities for parents which would encourage greater parental participation. Others saw this as the responsibility of other agencies.

Recommendations:

Provide parents and community members with opportunities for direct and indirect involvement in administration and service delivery. For example, parents and community members may: provide financial and advisory support, facilitate field trips and fund raising activities, participate on parent advisory committees, participate in policy and procedure development, provide program support through such activities as: sewing children's costumes, participating in field trips, attending special events and parent nights and participating in meetings.

Develop learning opportunities for parents that may include: parenting classes, Mother/tot reading sessions, workshops and information sessions.

Develop linkages between other programs and agencies within and outside the community to support the education and involvement of parents and community members.

Another challenge identified by study participants is the potential for family relationships to impact upon delivery of services. Some participants described situations in which only members of specific families could access services or where only certain family members received employment in the child care setting or where negative relationships between families prevented children from attending the child care centre. Likewise caregivers employed in the child care centre may be restricted by family dynamics.

Recommendations:

Develop policies that ensure children and families are treated equally and have the same access to child care services. Develop personnel policies that ensure equal access to employment opportunities, for example, implementing a formal hiring process.

Frequent elections of Chief and Council can also affect the delivery of services. With the election of a new Chief and Council commitments from the past Council may not necessarily be retained. This ongoing change often causes uncertainty and instability for caregivers and child care administrators.

Recommendations:

Ensure that newly elected Chief and Council members are well informed about child care. Band politicians could be invited to the child care centre on a regular basis, for special occasions and activities and/or for participation in the direct administration of the child care services (for example, participating on a child care centre advisory committee).

5.1.3 Environment

Study participants spoke of different kinds of environments including the physical environment and the atmosphere within the child care centre itself. Equipment and materials that reflect the

physical environment of the community in which the children live provide them with enhanced opportunities for learning their history and culture. Study participants stated that "including the natural environment in the child care centre promotes wholistic learning, a reflection of who we are." (Personal Communication, Archibald, 2000)

Ideally the child care setting's equipment and materials would be gathered from the community's natural surroundings by community members. One of the challenges to this is provincial licensing requirements where all equipment and materials used by children in a public facility must be government and/or Canadian Standards Association approved.

Study participants also identified the need for equipment and materials to be age and culturally appropriate. Safety and emergency equipment, adequate equipment for the centre to run including educational aids that support formal schooling, well equipped kitchen, staff room and resource/toy lending library were likewise identified as necessary for a quality physical environment.

Recommendations:

Incorporate materials and equipment from the community that are safe for children. Encourage community members to participate in the gathering and creation of safe equipment and materials.

Ensure that toys, materials and equipment "meet or beat" legislated safety requirements. Standards set by the Canada Standards Association must be reviewed with First Nations people with a view to creating a First Nations Standards Association dedicated to the accreditation of materials and equipment created by the community.

Ensure that there are adequate financial resources to meet the equipment and materials needs of the child care setting.

Develop and implement community based policies that ensure the physical and psychological safety and well being of children.

According to study participants a safe, nurturing and relaxing atmosphere where children learn, have fun and feel loved describes the ideal child care setting. This is the caring part of the environment. Some participants referred to this kind of atmosphere as being "home-like." Open door policies where staff interact positively with children, parents and each other support this type of environment as do trained staff, low staff child ratios and small group sizes.

Recommendation:

Develop and implement community based policies that ensure the physical and psychological safety and well being of children.

5.1.4 Caregivers

In an ideal situation Aboriginal caregivers, from the community who speak the language would be found working in First Nations child care centres. These caregivers would have a natural desire and ability to work with children. The care of children would be regarded as life work and not just a job. However this is not always possible. In many communities the majority of people speak English as their first language rather than their traditional language. Likewise many individuals leave reserve lands for employment outside the community. As a result the pool of Aboriginal caregivers is small.

Further reducing this already limited number of caregivers is the prescribed Early Childhood Education (ECE) training required by provincial standards and regulations. Prior to 1995, there was a very limited need for trained Early Childhood Educators on reserve because there were virtually no formalized child care services on reserve. With the onset of the federal government's *Aboriginal Head Start Programs* (1995 & 1997) and the *First Nations Inuit Child Care Initiative* (1994) and the subsequent requirement for First Nations communities to adhere to provincial licensing the need for individuals trained in Early Childhood Education skyrocketed. This increased need gives rise to two specific debates: one, being whether or not child care services on reserve should be licensed by the provincial government and the other a debate focusing on the nature of the training itself.

The first debate is discussed at length in section 5.3 *Child Care Legislative Regimes*. The second focuses on such questions as: who writes the curriculum? how are culturally sensitive or specific ideas and concepts incorporated into the curriculum? for whose culture is the curriculum written? (i.e. what values, beliefs and assumptions underlie current Early Childhood Education (ECE) programs and whose are they) who teaches the courses? Study participants criticize current ECE training programs for not being culturally appropriate, community appropriate or relevant to community based services. In fact, there are very few, if any ECE training programs developed for First Nations people by First Nations people. Study participants suggested that First Nations people must develop their own programs and include accreditation for their personal experiences and skills.

Despite these criticisms of Early Childhood Education (ECE) programs the majority of study participants felt it is important for caregivers to be educated in ECE and have ongoing opportunities for professional development and training. Most study participants supported the idea that ECE training in a mainstream college is not enough. Training in native studies, special needs, first aid, food safe and counseling skills were also viewed as necessary.

According to study participants, if caregivers do not speak the language it is important for them to be open to learning it as well as listening to Elders for advice on what to teach children. Likewise it is important for caregivers to be culturally aware and sensitive to the values of the community they are working in. Healthy lifestyles, good standing in the community, well developed interpersonal skills, life skills training and the ability to communicate their positive life experiences are equally important caregiver attributes.

Recommendations:

Lobby provincial governments to include specific First Nations and cross-cultural courses as mandatory components of early childhood education programs. Support First Nations educators in developing a First Nations specific early childhood education training curriculum. Support the development of First Nations education/training institutions. Identify previous learning experiences that may be applied towards a certificate, diploma or degree.

Offer cultural training and community orientation to caregivers new to the community.

In addition to early childhood caregivers there are other individuals involved in the child care centre. They include: Elders, parents, language teachers, practicum students, administrators, resource people, siblings, extended family members, local politicians, cook, janitor and community members. Study participants saw them as equally important to the care and education of children.

5.1.5 Children's Program

Study participants identified traditional values and beliefs as building fundamental blocks of a children's program. These values and beliefs can be taught to children by incorporating traditional seasoned, for example, berry picking in the summer and basket making in the winter. Ceremonial activities, on the other hand, were viewed as a sensitive area that requires caution in implementation. Diverse opinions exist amongst study participants. Some believe that these ceremonies should only be implemented if parents and community are agreeable while others believe ceremony should be incorporated into programming as a way to restore culture.

Contemporary activities and routines of children that reflect their community and home life are also found in a quality First Nations child care setting. Study participants were clear that these activities and routines are only acceptable if they are healthy and positive. Parent and community participation in the child care centre's activities is also seen as desirable for quality care. This participation assists in restoring a sense of community while reinforcing the collective values of the community.

Unanimous amongst study participants is the incorporation of Elders into the children's program. They are seen as critical to teaching young children the ways of the community and Nation. Elders may participate by attending special occasions and events or on a regular basis where they may be involved in teaching the language, storytelling and the like. Payment of Elders and licensing requirements are two issues that arose for study participants. First, how much do you pay an Elder? and how do you pay them? In educational institutions Elders are often likened to professors and paid accordingly, in other instances they are given an honourarium which is often dependent on what the group or organization can afford. In some First Nations communities there are set rates for Elder participation in community programs. How an Elder is paid is dependent upon the tradition of the community, for example, in Cree communities one would offer tobacco or cloth along with the initial invitation to participate. In many cases Elders receive both a gift and money as payment. Gifts represent a token of honour, respect and appreciation for the Elder's wisdom and willingness to give to others.

Provincial licensing requirements stipulate certain processes that must be undertaken for individuals other than staff to work with children. For example, in some jurisdictions, if an Elder attends a centre more than three times in a year licensing requires them to have a criminal records check, doctor's note and three personal references on file with the child care centre.

Recommendations:

Invite parents to collaborate in the development of children's learning activities.

Encourage Elders to participate in the children's program, e.g. sharing expertise, storytelling, visiting etc. Determine appropriate protocols with the community including monetary payment.

Besides learning the ways of the community First Nations children are also expected to learn skills and knowledge that will assist them in succeeding in the formal education system, that is, education within broader society. This expectation is not the same for the majority of children in broader society. They are born and socialized into a society of power and therefore, do not have to learn about others to be successful. This challenge of learning two ways of being is ominous and confusing for many young First Nations children yet necessary to their well being.

Children learn in many ways. Study participants agreed on the need for a variety of activities and consideration of different learning styles to meet children's learning needs. Activities should include traditional indoor and outdoor activities such as storytelling, music and dance, food gathering, weaving, painting and any other activity traditional to the community. Activities that focus on school readiness skills such as science, math and English should also be included. All activities should support the development and enhancement of physical, social, cognitive, emotional, language and spiritual development.

Many study participants saw learning through play as important for children. Storytelling, role modeling and practice are also viewed as important techniques for teaching First Nations children. For example, in traditional times children would first hear about making baskets through the oral tradition or storytelling. By listening they could picture in their minds what a basket might look like. They also learned the language that goes with basket making. Then would come time to practice. Children were often given small pieces of cedar root or bark to work with as adults made baskets near by. Children observed and practiced the stitches or weaving techniques until they mastered them. These ways of teaching and learning are just as important today. They teach us that children should have ample time and practice to learn new skills, and that role models should be available for them to observe, that is, caregivers, Elders, community resource people, siblings and peers.

Recommendation:

Develop activities that are relevant and meaningful for children while incorporating skills useful both in a school setting as well as in the community.

5.2 Influences on First Nations Quality Child Care

There are numerous influences that impact the development and delivery of First Nations quality child care services. Outlined and discussed below are historical, social and political influences to be considered when developing policies and initiatives to support First Nations quality child care services. It is important to state that the influences identified by study participants are in no sense intended to be exhaustive.

5.2.1 Historical Influences

The single most significant historical impact on First Nations child care is the residential school experience, often referred to as the 'residential school syndrome'. The forced placement of more than five generations of First Nations children in residential schools throughout every region of this country since the late 1800's has had a profound impact on First Nations families and communities.

The marginalization and devaluing of First Nations languages, traditions, values and belief systems throughout the residential school experience crippled First Nations communities. The separation of children from parents, extended families and whole communities negatively impacted on family structures and social institutions such as the potlach in First Nations communities.

First Nations have responded to the impacts of the residential school syndrome by insisting upon control over the education of their children, forcing government to reinvest in the retention (and in some cases revival) of traditional languages, and establishing healing initiatives intended to address numerous abuses suffered by First Nations people in residential schools. In relation to child care, First Nations are concerned that services in child care centres do not reflect policies of assimilation similar to the residential school experience.

First Nations therefore argue for control over the development and delivery of child care services in their communities. Child care is understood to be an Aboriginal right where First Nations governments maintain self-governing authority over the implementation of all aspects of child care services.

Recommendation:

A national federal First Nations child care policy that supports, endorses and adequately resources First Nations driven child care services is a necessary component of any government initiative directed at First Nations self-governance. The federal policy should clearly recognize that First Nations quality child care services must be community based and controlled.

5.2.2 Social Influences

The social state of First Nations communities directly impact how and what type of child care services are developed in communities. Unprecedented levels of child and family poverty (ie.

poverty based on the inability to provide basic sustenance rather than poverty based on accumulated wealth), violence and alcohol or drug abuse each uniquely impact child care services in First Nations communities.

Caregivers in First Nations communities face challenges posed by the social state of First Nations communities in the areas of: child care programming, the child care environment, child:staff ratios, and services to children with special needs. Numerous studies have concluded that poverty, family violence and abuse of alcohol or drugs by parents impacts negatively on the developmental process of children. These social considerations weigh heavily on all aspects of developing quality child care services in First Nations communities.

Fiscal, human and environmental resources already stretched to the limit for delivering basic child care services, become ever more stretched when attempting to deliver services in communities where the number of children with fetal alcohol syndrome (FAS) or fetal alcohol effect (FAE) is high, or where the levels of unemployment and dependance on social assistance has reached epidemic levels. In many cases children with special needs simply do not get serviced because the cost associated with this type of specialized child care is too prohibitive for many First Nations child care centre administrations.

Recommendation:

The federal government dedicate significant additional resources for the development of First Nations child care services that address individual needs of communities and the social and economic inequities that are pervasive in First Nations communities.

Similarly, the numbers of parents under the age of 18 years place significant fiscal, human and environmental strains on the development of quality child care services. There is a need for continuity of care between the child care centre and the child's own home so that children are provided with the optimum learning and developmentally appropriate environment. Concurrently there is a need for services to young parents so they acquire basic parenting skills.

Recommendation:

First Nations child care services must support extended family structures, the needs of young parents and overall community enhancement, rather than limit child care services for parents in the workforce or attending educational institutions.

The rapid increase of First Nations populations, estimated to be at the rate of 2% per year or 1.8 times that of the Canadian population, will continue to place strains on the development of quality child care services. The demand for quality child care services will increase concurrently with the increase in population rates. Current levels of child care services in First Nations communities do not even meet 10% of the need identified by working parents or parents pursuing educational programs.

Recommendations:

Federal government support for First Nations child care services will have to be significantly increased if there is to be equity in the level of support provided to First Nations communities as compared with other communities in Canada. Resources should be earmarked so that child care services in First Nations communities are at levels equivalent to communities in broader society.

The federal government commitment to First Nations child care services will also have to increase at rates that are concomitant with the increase in First Nations population, and not based on population statistics that are dated. The delivery of child care services in First Nations communities will otherwise be static, under-resourced and over extended.

5.2.3 Political Influences

National, regional and local political institutions and policies impact on First Nations quality child care services. There is no national policy dedicated to First Nations or Aboriginal child care services. The federal government has failed to take any responsibility for First Nations children despite the fact that it has the constitutional ability to do so, and may in fact have a constitutional responsibility to do so.

Current federal programs lack coordination and consistent approaches to quality services for First Nations children. Programs designed for First Nations children are housed in different ministry offices (for example Human Resources Development Canada is responsible for the child care initiative, while Health Canada is responsible for the Head Start on reserve and off reserve programs), each maintain distinct objectives, and have completely separate and unique funding formulas and application processes. As a result First Nations communities developing child care services are faced with numerous bureaucracies.

National funding policies for child care services require First Nations child care centres to comply with provincial child care legislation and regulations. Yet no provincial government in Canada maintains a policy for First Nations child care services, except for those provincial governments that state they are not responsible to develop these services because the federal government has a constitutional responsibility for 'Indians and lands reserved for Indians'. First Nations' efforts for community controlled, locally accountable and First Nations driven child care services are thereby thwarted by provincial legislation and child care regulatory schemes.

Recommendations:

A national First Nations child care agenda be established that clearly identifies the federal government has exercised the constitutional authority and responsibility bestowed on it thereby eliminating the federal/provincial dispute over who is responsible for First Nations child care services. The jurisdictional battle between levels of government (federal and provincial) have crippled First Nations communities far too long, and must be resolved if First Nations people are to take their rightful place in Canadian society.

The national First Nations child care agenda must also endorse First Nations governments as the constitutional legal entity responsible for First Nations people and make provision for the transfer of resources for the development and delivery of child care services in First Nations communities. This will necessitate a re-negotiation of current federal/provincial transfer agreements so that First Nations governments are granted their proportionate share of funding for child care services.

While it is generally accepted that local First Nations governments are supportive and in some cases instrumental in achieving quality child care services in First Nations communities, local governments also present barriers for community driven, accountable services. Given that First Nations communities are very much organized by family groupings, and that family groupings historically held the balance of power in First Nations communities, child care services are influenced by family dynamics.

In some cases, family dynamics determine what First Nations children are serviced, and who is employed in child care centres. While this may not necessarily be a negative influence on child care services, there is the potential to exclude children that need the service the most, or to overlook the best qualified and dedicated personnel for culturally relevant, community driven, accountable child care service.

The fact that local First Nations governments are elected generally for a two year term also impacts on child care services. Caregivers and child care administrators in First Nations communities are often faced with uncertain and occasionally unstable commitments from local governments to child care. The commitment by one Chief and Council more often than not, will not be reflected in the commitment of a new Chief and Council. A relatively young population and the ever-changing face of the First Nations community translates to a frequent turn over of elected Chief and Council members. We can expect the result to translate into an on-going unstable commitment by local First Nations governments to child care services for the next several years.

Recommendations:

First Nations governments must be supported in their efforts to assume responsibility for developing and delivering child care services in their communities, which will necessitate the recognition of a First Nations jurisdiction over child care matters.

Concurrent with a commitment to First Nations jurisdiction over child care matters, is the need for support of community driven advocacy organizations that are dedicated to achieving quality child care services for First Nations children, families and communities. This support will help ensure that First Nations governments are held accountable to their commitments and that First Nations standards for quality child care are developed and implemented in a systematic organized manner.

5.3 Child Care Legislative Regimes

It is accepted in First Nations communities that child care regulatory schemes are an important component of quality child care services. Child care regulatory schemes not only establish standards for the health of children, safety in child care settings, and qualifications of child caregivers, they also offer an opportunity for First Nations governments to develop child care administrative and governance structures that are community driven and accountable.

Many research studies support the idea that quality child care services involve setting standards for various aspects related to the care of children. While it is beyond the scope of this research project to examine, there is no doubt that there is much debate over whether child care regulatory schemes ought to be centralized or regionally based, driven by public or private industry, or whether such schemes ought to emulate punitive or permissive measures of enforcement.

In First Nations communities child care services are so new that often the primary focus is simply to create sustainable services over time. There has been almost no debate among First Nations government representatives or First Nations child care authorities around the application of provincial child care regulatory schemes in their communities. In Ontario and British Columbia First Nations communities have resolved themselves to the fact that provincial licensing authorities (whether it be licensing officers or consultants) are expected to license child care services in their communities.

This does not suggest, however, that First Nations governments and communities in these regions of the country are content with the application of provincial laws in their communities. Many participants in the study expressed concern with the fact that provincial laws applied to the development and delivery of child care services in their community. In some cases the local chief and council clearly advised the provincial licensing authority that their presence in the community was considered an intrusion on the community's legal authority for child care services, and that the application of provincial law in this instance was clearly an exception and not understood to be the rule.

Recommendation:

Create a funding program specifically for the development of First Nations child care laws and regulatory schemes. Key components of the funding scheme should include:

- *support for community values,*
- *reinforcement of First Nations beliefs and child rearing practices,*
- *allow for ratification by community, regional and local governance structures, and*
- *require the development of enforcement mechanisms that are community driven.*

In parts of the country where provincial child care authorities refuse to enter Indian reserve lands, First Nations community leaders have welcomed the opportunity to develop their own child care regulatory scheme. Such enthusiasm has not been without barriers and difficulties. First Nations child care regulatory initiatives have been fraught with unrealistic time constraints, limited resources, and serious impediments to effective implementation of the regulatory scheme.

In Saskatchewan, where the provincial government has refused to enter Indian reserve lands, First Nations leaders and First Nations government organizations have struggled with meeting federal government expectations and deadlines for a province wide child care regulatory scheme. In the guise of requiring assurances that child care services will be safe and healthy for children, the federal government has insisted that such services be licensed before much needed funding can be released to communities developing these services. The result has been delay upon delay for communities desiring to develop child care services in ways that meet the needs identified by parents in their communities.

Recommendation:

Realistic and flexible time frames are necessary for effective First Nations child care legislative and regulatory schemes. This will ensure that such schemes are reflective of parental, community, and First Nations values and belief systems.

Outlined below is an overview of the supports and barriers presented by current child care regulatory models, including those models developed by First Nations governments.

5.3.1 Supports Created by Child Care Regulatory Models

Current child care regulatory models, although prescriptive in nature do provide a number of supports for First Nations quality child care services. As noted above the obvious supports are that it ensures healthy care for children, safe child care environments and standards for child caregivers that are consistent with appropriate developmental services.

Participants in our study also identified child care regulatory schemes as supporting effective administration of individual child care centres and services. Provincial child care legislation requirements and supportive government policies for internal child care centre policies, for example, provide caregivers and child care administrators with guidelines for accountable services. Some internal policies supported by legislation that were identified by participants in the study include a behaviour management policy, authorization for medication and treating emergency injuries, along with names of persons to contact who are authorized to pick up and drop off children.

Child care legislation is seen as encouraging centres to have policies for parent accountability, staff qualifications and administration procedures for effective management of the centre. In the case of parent accountability participants noted that legislation and licensing officer policies (in particular in Ontario) require procedures for parental involvement in the centre. This requirement has in some cases resulted in the production of a parent newsletter, brochures on services provided, a parent handbook for all users of the service, and parent nights or open houses.

Recommendation:

Examine alternative regulatory schemes that will determine if a central or regional approach to enforcement is the best mode of delivering quality child care services. Research dedicated to this area of study should support the identification of standards developed in cooperation with the child care private sector.

In the case of caregiver qualifications, participants were not unanimous in their understanding that child care legislation and policy supported First Nations desires for culturally relevant services. While almost all participants in the study noted that standards and minimum qualifications for caregivers were important for quality services, not every one agreed that current educational programs for early childhood educators necessarily resulted in employing the best child care providers in their centres.

Recommendations:

Support the reinforcement of First Nations cultures and languages by identifying each as legitimate indicators of quality child care.

Make resources available for the development of culture and language specific curriculum that is locally based and supportive of the diversity of First Nations languages and dialects within each First Nations language.

Coordinate the development of accreditation standards for language and culture instructors with local First Nations education authorities ensuring that community based instructors are supported and life experience is properly accredited.

In the case of administration procedures, all participants noted that current child care legislation and policies supported effective administration of child care services in local community settings. Administration policies supported by legislation include codes of conduct, wage scales (although it was generally agreed that wage scales for early childhood educators reflected an under valuation of this service in the community), time management of employees, involvement of community in the delivery of services, and staff participation in the development and implementation of effective services.

Participants also noted that child care regulations and policy are instrumental in ensuring that the number of children cared for in centres is kept at manageable levels. This in turn was viewed as supporting conductive working environments for caregivers.

Of particular interest, is participants' view that compliance with child care regulations and policies result in greater access to financial resources from funding agencies. While generally this is true, compliance with regulations do not always necessarily translate to more funding for the delivery of services. At the very least, participants said that requiring compliance with regulatory standards before being able to access funding, is an effective way to monitor and enforce child care legislation and policies.

Recommendations:

Incorporate in all funding programs targeted at First Nations child care adequate resources earmarked for special needs, developmental difficulties, and language and culture.

Redefine eligibility to subsidy programs so that the special social, economic and political considerations of First Nations people are accounted for.

5.3.2 Barriers Created by Child Care Regulatory Models

While child care regulatory models for the most part offer a sense of security for caregivers and children, there are numerous barriers created by child care legislation for community driven, culturally relevant and First Nations specific child care services. The most commonly cited observation about barriers created by child care legislation and regulations for First Nations child care services, was that they imposed standards that set the service apart from the community.

Physical requirements intended to ensure child care centres are safe environments for children are often perceived as a barrier to community members accessing the service. The more institutional appearance a child care centre is the less likely members from the community will feel comfortable approaching the centre to care for their children. The correlation between fear of reinventing the residential school experience and the physical attributes of child care centres cannot be understated. Centres that reflect the local community and culture, such as long houses or pit houses, tee pees and smoke houses on the grounds of the centre, make all the difference. Community members identify with the service as belonging to the community and are therefore comfortable leaving their children at the centre to be cared for.

Recommendation:

Support the development of First Nations child care regulations that set standards for the incorporation of First Nations historical and contemporary buildings and structures into the physical environment of child care centres.

Standards for staff:child ratios and segregated age groupings in child care legislation and regulations also set child care services apart from the community. While ratios and age groupings are considered important aspects of First Nations quality child care services, First Nations view these standards as imposing on traditional child rearing practices. Caring for children in segregated age groupings often translates into an inability to transmit information and culture to children in ways that have always been practised. For example, teachingpreschoolers the importance about the value of life through showing them how to care for infants is not possible in settings where children are segregated by age.

Similarly, teaching siblings about respect and sharing cannot be undertaken in ways that have been practised for generations when children are separated by age groupings. On the other hand setting ratios for children and caregivers result in setting standards that become the norm in child care settings, precluding any consideration for greater one on one care or lower ratios than those set in the regulations. Allowing for greater numbers of caregivers in child care settings is

important to providing a service that is consistent with the care a child receives in a First Nations home, where extended family, relatives, and grandparents are pivotal to rearing children.

Recommendations:

In consultation with First Nations communities implement a moratorium on the enforcement of provincial regulatory staff:child ratios and caregiving in segregated age groupings.

Pilot several First Nations child care centres across Canada where staff:child ratios are lower than the provincial regulatory standard, and where children are cared for in multi-age group settings. Include the pilots in a national longitudinal First Nations child care study that will assess the viability of caring for children in these specialized child care settings.

Legislation and regulation requirements that caregivers in child care centres be trained or supervised by someone who is trained pose serious barriers to community driven services. There are numerous caregivers in communities that do not have formal institutional training to care for children, such as early childhood education certification, but with their life experience would be considered more highly qualified than someone with a certificate. In many communities there are no members who have specific training to care for children, resulting in the community having to hire from outside the community in order to deliver child care services. Community resources therefore get overlooked for persons who have the qualifications but are not from the community.

Caregivers in this situation are faced with the added burden of addressing community perceptions that their own members are not adequate caregivers for their children. Similarly, community members are faced with the responsibility of having to ensure that caregivers from outside the community understand the community and culture that ought to be passed on to children at the centre. Of greater concern, however, is the ability of persons not from a community to fully understand and be expected to teach children about the values and belief systems of a particular community.

Recommendations:

Develop specific early childhood accreditation processes for community members and Elders that are respectful of their life experience and desire to care for children. The accreditation process ought to include a new category of 'community certified caregivers' that ladders to a formal early childhood education diploma and bachelor degree in First Nations child care.

Establish links with post-secondary institutes across Canada that will be committed to developing unique First Nations child care certificate, diploma and degree programs. Ensure that the national children's agenda include adequate resources for the development of First Nations driven child care program.

Another commonly cited burden to developing quality First Nations child care services is the level of funding dedicated to these services, and how funding is connected with the type of service that is delivered. In other words, while compliance with the regulations allow for greater access to services, the focus of regulations is on services that are not necessarily inclusive of all children's

needs in the community. For example, children requiring special services because of special needs may be overlooked altogether or cannot be serviced due to a lack of funding to train staff to become resource workers.

In a similar vein, subsidy programs tend to dictate the type of services that are delivered in child care centres. The result is that only those parents who are working or pursuing their education are able to access the service. Many other children from families that do not have parents that are working or in school lose out and cannot participate in services offered at centres simply because their parents cannot afford it. There are no subsidies or programs where funding is made available for the development of specific culturally relevant programming, where children are exposed to and cared for in a cultural setting.

Recommendation:

Re-examine subsidy programs with a view to creating new subsidies for First Nations parents that are not limited to parents working or going to school. New subsidy programs should specifically address social, economic and historical considerations in First Nations communities.

Of particular concern to the principal researchers is the fact there is no central organized effort for the development of First Nations quality child care services. Individual communities are currently required to develop child care services with virtually no or help from outside helping agencies. The myriad of bureaucracies communities must face, and the numerous federal and provincial standards (funding, building, programming and the like) that are required to be complied with, do not support the on going development of child care services in First Nations communities across the country.

Recommendation:

Support national and regional First Nations child care advocacy agencies dedicated to quality First Nations child care services. This should include core funding for operations, specific research initiatives to be spear-headed and administered by First Nations child care advocacy agencies, and the creation of national tables dedicated to First Nations child care issues.

5.4 First Nations Legal Responsibility for Child Care

Policies for First Nations child care services in Canada are disparate, lack coordination and do not support quality care for children in First Nations communities. The federal government has failed to take a lead role in ensuring that services for children in First Nations communities are accessible, affordable, and culturally relevant. Moreover, by refusing to accept constitutional and legal responsibility for First Nations children the federal government has perpetuated the long standing jurisdictional dispute between federal and provincial governments over who is responsible for First Nations children.

Provincial governments on the other hand have continued to either refuse servicing children in First Nations communities, or insist that services in First Nations communities mirror services that are delivered to children in other parts of their province. Provincial child care legislative and

regulatory schemes oversee the importance of culture to the healthy development of children. Most important, provincial policies do not support community based, culturally relevant, and language based programming as key components of quality care for children.

In a similar vein, First Nations governments faced with extreme demands to develop and respond to initiatives for their members do not have the adequate resources to take up the child care cause.

5.4.1 First Nations Jurisdiction in Child Care

First Nations people agree that responsibility for child care necessarily involves an exercise of legal authority in all areas related to child care. Some First Nations are proponents of child care as an Aboriginal right, where the ability to exercise law making authority in the area is an inherent right.

These First Nations argue that they have made laws related to the care of children for years, and the ability to continue to make these laws are protected as an Aboriginal right in section 35 of the *Constitution Act, 1982*. This argument raises the issue of whether government (federal and provincial) has extinguished the Aboriginal right to make child care laws because of laws passed pursuant to the widely accepted constitutional division of powers, where the provincial governments are empowered to make laws of a local nature, including child care.

Recommendation:

The National Children's Agenda recognize First Nations child care as an Aboriginal right protected by section 35 of the Constitution Act, 1982 and enforceable in law as a legitimate law making power of First Nations governments.

It is not accepted in First Nations communities that the right to pass child care laws necessarily requires federal or provincial government approval, whether by delegation, legislation or memorandum of understanding. These modes of exercising child care law making authority are considered an intrusion on the First Nations right to make child care laws.

Recommendation:

A national First Nations child care agenda be established that adopts as a principle the recognition of First Nations legal authority in child care. The agenda must be: adequately resourced by the federal government, First Nations driven, and respectful of the diversity of First Nations in Canada.

Participants were clearly of the view that any exercise of child care authority would involve local governance structures. They were also unanimous in understanding that a First Nations authority in child care would be based on the needs of children and the reinforcement of healthy traditional child rearing practices.

Recommendation:

The national First Nations child care agenda endorse community based governance structures that have as a focus the needs of children and the reinforcement of healthy traditional child rearing practices.

The national First Nations child care agenda involve participation from all stakeholders in the development and delivery of First Nations child care services, including Elders, caregivers, parents, community leaders, regional advocacy groups and regional/national First Nations leadership.

The national First Nations child care agenda adopt as its guiding principle quality child care services that are affordable, accessible, culturally appropriate, and dedicated to language and culture retention.

Not all First Nations will desire to exercise law making authority in child care. For a whole variety of reasons First Nations may want to continue to be licensed by provincial child care regimes. Yet others wish to develop their child care law making authority over time, and in the interim operate under provincial licensing schemes. Many participants noted that this latter option was precisely what occurred at the implementation of the *First Nations/Inuit Child Care Initiative*. In each case, however, there is a need to review provincial child care legislative regimes so that they are reflective of First Nations desires in quality child care.

Recommendation:

Provincial child care regulatory schemes be reviewed in each region for the purpose of identifying appropriate amendments to provincial legislation that will ensure the legislation is respectful and inclusive of First Nations desires in child care services.

The review of provincial child care regulatory schemes be conducted in cooperation with First Nations, including Elders, caregivers, parents, community leaders, and advocacy agencies from First Nations interested in amending provincial legislation.

5.4.2 Scope of First Nations Authority in Child Care

Advocates for First Nations jurisdiction and authority over child care view the opportunity to exercise law making authority in this area as enabling communities to enact and enforce community based child care standards. The community standards participants seek to support are entrenched within the values and belief systems of First Nations communities. The lived experience of First Nations people are thereby acknowledged, respected and celebrated. In this regard language plays a pivotal role, where the spoken word is an expression of several generations of lived experience and the values of a community come alive.

It is important to underscore that the values and belief systems of First Nations vary from community to community. It cannot be assumed that the values in one community are necessarily transportable to another community. In a similar vein it would be inappropriate to suggest that the

scope of First Nations authority in child care will necessarily be constant from one community to the next.

Recommendation:

The primary goal for the development of First Nations child care legislation should be the preservation and retention of values, beliefs and traditions of the community. In this sense, the law making authority of First Nations in child care must be flexible and adaptable to the desires of individual First Nations.

It has been well documented that First Nations values, belief systems and traditions have been recorded in oral ways. The same is true for legal systems and laws historically enforced by First Nations governments. It goes without saying that these systems are in direct contrast to the legal systems Canada as a Nation relies on. Indeed, there has been a time in recent history when First Nations legal systems were banned by the Canadian government (see Chapter 2 for a detailed discussion on the history of First Nations and European relations).

The fact that First Nations values, belief systems, traditions and legal systems are oral presents difficulties for First Nations desiring to exercise law making authority in child care. The exercise of law making authority within the Canadian constitutional regime necessarily involves the codification of First Nations values, beliefs and traditions. The very fact that an exercise of law making authority involves the codification of values, beliefs and traditions, flies in the face of oral tradition where the transmission of information from generation to generation is intended to accommodate the evolution of First Nations societies.

The dilemma of codifying orally transmitted values and belief systems is not a new phenomenon. Theorists in almost every society debate the utility of rigid codification of community values and belief systems. Invariably the debate involves an examination of the ethics involved with codifying community values and beliefs.

Recommendation:

Research be undertaken to examine traditional child rearing practices, and First Nations values and belief systems related to the care of children. One objective of the research would be to examine ethical considerations associated with the codification of oral systems for the purpose of exercising law making authority. Another objective of the research would be to consider the ability of contemporary legal systems to accommodate oral based legal systems and visa versa.

Assuming that contemporary legal systems are able to accommodate oral based legal systems, or that oral based legal systems are able to survive along side rigid codified legal systems, there is an obvious potential for each legal system to conflict with the other. Where the two legal systems conflict with each other there must be processes in place to ensure that the conflict is resolved. To do otherwise would result in polarization that promotes mistrust, lack of understanding and escalated conflict.

Recommendation:

Research be undertaken to examine the conflict of laws between contemporary legal systems and Aboriginal legal systems, and in particular the ability of common law legal principles and First Nations laws to resolve disputes arising from the conflict of these legal systems.

The very nature of First Nations legal systems suggest that there is a need for flexibility in the recognition and exercise of First Nations law making authority. In relation to child care this necessitates a process that will support the diverse perspectives of achieving quality child care services. It is conceivable that every First Nations community will have their own perspective on the development of quality child care services. In this sense it is necessary to ensure that law making powers are reflective of community value and belief systems.

Whether First Nations develop their law making authority on the basis of language affiliation, geographic association, or traditional territory is the prerogative of each First Nations government. It is important that efforts to support the development of First Nations authority in child care respect the wishes of affiliations that First Nations create toward this end.

Recommendation:

A national First Nations child care agenda support the creation of First Nations licensing processes that include: regulating caregivers qualifications, the child care environment, monitoring, subsidy programs, and community/regional standards.

Recommendations at a Glance

The attached chart provides a summary of all recommendations presented in this chapter. The recommendations are, for the most part, broad in scope yet useful to First Nations communities in that there is opportunity for the community to develop the nature and scope of the recommendation. Some recommendations may be undertaken by caregivers or parents whole others will require the united efforts of the community and/or nation.

Future Research

Areas for future research include:

- examination of alternate processes for standards and regulations
- documentation of child rearing practices
- documentation of First Nations values, beliefs and traditions
- examination of child development for First Nations
- compilation and examination of best practices models
- development of First Nations specific early childhood education programs for future caregivers
- examination of conflict of laws between contemporary legal systems and First Nations legal systems

- examination of necessary amendments to provincial child care legislation
- examination of subsidy programs that support First Nations quality child care
- documentation of children's care in specialized child care settings

RECOMMENDATIONS AT A GLANCE

CATEGORY	*RECOMMENDATION*
Context and Intent of First Nations Child Care	• *Government programs intended for First Nations peoples consider: 1) including communities directly in the development of the program; 2) incorporating time lines that would allow communities the opportunity to consult with their members in determining and defining their specific child care program; and 3) incorporating flexible opportunities for communities to define and develop administration and governance structures.* • *Develop child care services that are accessible to all families. Ensure that community is consulted in the development of the children's program. Develop and implement children's programming that incorporates school readiness skills presented in a developmental and meaningful way.* • *Lobby government and educational institutions for the delivery of community based education programs. Explore existing and develop new educational opportunities for community members.* • *Ensure that community consultations are inclusive of all community constituents and ideas. Facilitate the development of a community statement with respect to the care of children. Support the development of child care service components, infrastructure and administration that reflect the community's direction.*

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Community and Parent Involvement	• *Parents and community members with opportunities for direct and indirect involvement in administration and service delivery. For example, parents and community members may: provide financial and advisory support, facilitate field trips and fund raising activities, participate on parent advisory committees, participate in policy and procedure development, provide program support through such activities as: sewing children's costumes, participating in field trips, attending special events and parent nights and participating in meetings.* • *Develop learning opportunities for parents that may include: parenting classes, Mother/tot reading sessions, workshops and information sessions.* • *Develop linkages between other programs and agencies within and outside the community.* • *Develop policies that ensure children and families are treated equably and have equal access to child care services. Develop personnel policies that ensure equal access to employment opportunities, for example, implementing a formal hiring process.* • *Ensure that newly elected Chief and Council members are well informed about child care. Band politicians could be invited to the child care centre on a regular basis, for special occasions and activities and/or for participation in the direct administration of the child care services (for example, participating on a child care centre advisory committee).*

Environment	• *Incorporate materials and equipment from the community that are safe for children. Encourage community members to participate in the gathering and creation of safe equipment and materials.* • *Ensure that toys, materials and equipment "meet or beat" legislated safety requirements. Standards set by the Canada Standards Association must be reviewed with First Nations people with a view to creating a First Nations Standards Association dedicated to the accreditation of materials and equipment created by the community.* • *Ensure that there are adequate financial resources to meet the equipment and materials needs of the child care setting.* • *Develop and implement community based policies that ensure the physical and psychological safety and well being of children.*
Caregivers	• *Lobby provincial governments to include specific First Nations and cross-cultural courses as mandatory components of early childhood education programs. Support First Nations educators in developing a First Nations specific early childhood education training curriculum. Support the development of First Nations institutions. Take on licensing. Identify mechanisms for assessing previous learning experiences that may be applied towards a certificate, diploma or degree.* • *Offer cultural training and community orientation to caregivers new to the community.*
Children's Programs	• *Invite parents to collaborate in the development of children's learning activities.* • *Encourage Elders to participate in the children's program, e.g. sharing expertise, storytelling, visiting etc. Determine appropriate protocols with the community including monetary payment.* • *Develop activities that are relevant and meaningful for children while incorporating skills useful both in a school setting as well as in the community.*

Historical Influences	• *A national federal First Nations child care policy that supports, endorses and adequately resources First Nations driven child care services is a necessary component of any government initiative directed at First Nations self-governance. The federal policy should clearly recognize that First Nations quality child care services must be community based and controlled.*
Social Influences	• *The federal government dedicate significant additional resources for the development of First Nations child care services that address individual needs of communities and the social and economic inequities that are pervasive in First Nations communities.* • *First Nations child care services must support extended family structures, the needs of young parents and overall community enhancement, rather than limit child care services for parents in the workforce or attending educational institutions.* • *Federal government support for First Nations child care services will have to be significantly increased if there is to be equity in the level of support provided to First Nations communities as compared with other communities in Canada. Resources should be earmarked so that child care services in First Nations communities are at levels equivalent to communities in broader society.* • *The federal government commitment to First Nations child care services will also have to increase at rates that are concomitant with the increase in First Nations population, and not based on population statistics that are dated. The delivery of child care services in First Nations communities will otherwise be static, under-resourced and over extended.*

Political Influences	• *A national First Nations child care agenda be established that clearly identifies the federal government has exercised the constitutional authority and responsibility bestowed on it and thereby eliminating the federal/provincial dispute over who is responsible for First Nations child care services. The jurisdictional battle between levels of government (federal and provincial) have crippled First Nations communities far too long, and must be resolved if First Nations people are to take their rightful place in Canadian society.* • *The national First Nations child care agenda must also endorse First Nations governments as the constitutional legal entity responsible for First Nations people and make provision for the transfer of resources for the development and delivery of child care services in First Nations communities. This will necessitate a re-negotiation of current federal/provincial transfer agreements so that First Nations governments are granted their proportionate share of funding for child care services.* • *First Nations governments must be supported in their efforts to assume responsibility for developing and delivering child care services in their communities, which will necessitate the recognition of a First Nations jurisdiction over child care matters.* • *Concurrent with a commitment to First Nations jurisdiction over child care matters, is the need for support of community driven advocacy organizations that are dedicated to achieving quality child care services for First Nations children, families and communities. This support will help ensure that First Nations governments are held accountable to their commitments and that First Nations standards for quality child care are developed and implemented in a systematic organized manner.*

Regulatory Supports	• *Create a funding program specifically for the development of First Nations child care laws and regulatory schemes. Key components of the funding scheme should include:* *- support for community values,* *- reinforcement of First Nations beliefs and child rearing practices,* *- allow for ratification by community, regional and local governance structures, and* *- require the development of enforcement mechanisms that are community driven.* • *Realistic and flexible time frames are necessary for effective First Nations child care legislative and regulatory schemes. This will ensure that such schemes are reflective of parental, community, and First Nations values and belief systems.* • *Examine alternative regulatory schemes that will determine if a central or regional approach to enforcement is the best mode of delivering quality child care services. Research dedicated to this area of study should support the identification of standards developed in cooperation with the child care private sector.* • *Support the reinforcement of First Nations cultures and languages by identifying each as legitimate indicators of quality child care.* • *Make resources available for the development of culture and language specific curriculum that is locally based and supportive of the diversity of First Nations languages and dialects within each First Nations language.* • *Coordinate the development of accreditation standards for language and culture instructors with local First Nations education authorities ensuring that community based instructors are supported and life experience is properly accredited.* • *Incorporate in all funding programs targeted at First Nations child care adequate resources earmarked for special needs, developmental difficulties, and language and culture.* • *Redefine eligibility to subsidy programs so that the special social, economic and political considerations of First Nations people are accounted for.*

Regulatory Barriers	• *Support the development of First Nations child care regulations that set standards for the incorporation of First Nations historical and contemporary buildings and structures into the physical environment of child care centres.* • *In consultation with First Nations communities implement a moratorium on the enforcement of provincial regulatory staff:child ratios and caregiving in segregated age groupings.* • *Pilot several First Nations child care centres across Canada where staff:child ratios are lower than the provincial regulatory standard, and where children are cared for in multi-age group settings. Include the pilots in a national longitudinal First Nations child care study that will assess the viability of caring for children in these specialized child care settings.* • *Develop specific early childhood accreditation processes for community members and Elders that are respectful of their life experience and desire to care for children. The accreditation process ought to include a new category of 'community certified caregivers' that ladders to a formal early childhood education diploma and bachelor degree in First Nations child care.* • *Establish links with post-secondary institutes across Canada that will be committed to developing unique First Nations child care certificate, diploma and degree programs. Ensure that the national children's agenda include adequate resources for the development of First Nations driven child care program.* • *Re-examine subsidy programs with a view to creating new subsidies for First Nations parents that are not limited to parents working or going to school. New subsidy programs should specifically address social, economic and historical considerations in First Nations communities.* • *Support national and regional First Nations child care advocacy agencies dedicated to quality First Nations child care services. This should include core funding for operations, specific research initiatives to be spear-headed and administered by First Nations child care advocacy agencies, and the creation of national tables dedicated to First Nations child care issues.*

First Nations Jurisdiction	• *The National Children' Agenda acknowledge and recognize First Nations child care as an Aboriginal right protected by section 35 of the Constitution Act, 1982 and enforceable in law as a legitimate right of First Nations government.* • *A First Nations child care agenda be established that adopts as a principle the recognition of First Nations legal authority in child care.* • *The national federal child care agenda endorse community based governance structures that have as a focus the needs of children and the reinforcement of healthy traditional child rearing practices.* • *The national First Nations child care agenda involve participation from all stakeholders in the development and delivery of First Nations child care services, including Elders, caregivers, parents, community leaders, regional advocacy groups and regional/national First Nations leadership.* • *The national First Nations child care agenda adopt as its guiding principle quality child care services that are affordable, accessible, culturally appropriate, and dedicated to language and culture retention.* • *Provincial child care regulatory schemes be reviewed in each region for the purpose of identifying appropriate amendments to provincial legislation that will ensure the legislation is respectful and inclusive of First Nations desires in child care services.* • *The review of provincial child care regulatory schemes be conducted in cooperation with First Nations, including Elders, caregivers, parents, community leaders, and advocacy agencies from First Nations interested in amending provincial legislation.*

Scope of First Nations Authority	• *The primary goal for the development of First Nations child care legislation should be the preservation and retention of values, beliefs and traditions of the community. In this sense, the law making authority of First Nations in child care must be flexible and adaptable to the desires of individual First Nations.* • *Research be undertaken to examine traditional child rearing practices, and First Nations values and belief systems related to the care of children. One objective of the research would be to examine ethical considerations associated with the codification of oral systems for the purpose of exercising law making authority. Another objective of the research would be to consider the ability of contemporary legal systems to accommodate oral based legal systems and visa versa.* • *Research be undertaken to examine the conflict of laws between contemporary legal systems and Aboriginal legal systems, and in particular the ability of common law legal principles and First Nations laws to resolve disputes arising from the conflict of these legal systems.* • *A national First Nations child care agenda support the creation of First Nations licensing processes that include: regulating caregivers qualifications, the child care environment, monitoring, subsidy programs, and community/regional standards.*

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APPENDIX A

List of Steering Committee Members

LIST OF STEERING COMMITTEE MEMBERS

Sandra Griffin
Debbie Jettè
Marie Mccallum
Betty Jones
Jane Middelton Moz
Mary Thomas
Marg Shawana
Dixie Shilling
Gloria Murdock-Smith
Mabel Louie
Warner Adam
Margo Greenwood
Perry Shawana
Louie Opekokew

APPENDIX B

KEY INFORMANT LETTER OF INVITATION

KEY INFORMANT LETTER OF INVITATION

ADSHAW MANAGEMENT SERVICES
506 - 550 Victoria Street
Prince George, BC V2L 2K1

Telephone: (250)564-1026
Fax: (250)564-1027

(DATE)

VIA FAX ONLY

(ADDRESS)

ATTENTION:

Dear :

Further to our recent telephone conversation Perry Shawana and I are engaged in a national research project entitled, First Nations Quality Child Care: A National Study. This project is designed to define and examine First Nations "quality" child care with an emphasis on the role of provincial/territorial legislation and policies in the delivery of child care services.

The study will provide First Nations with descriptions of indicators and components of quality First Nations child care services, along with options and considerations for either current policy change and/or for assuming authority over child care services.

The project objectives are:

1. TO EXAMINE THE SOCIAL, POLITICAL AND HISTORICAL CONTEXT OF FIRST NATIONS COMMUNITIES RELATIVE TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF CHILD CARE SERVICES.

2. TO DETERMINE WHAT FIRST NATIONS COMMUNITIES PERCEIVE AS QUALITY CARE FOR THEIR CHILDREN.

3. TO IDENTIFY INDICATORS OF QUALITY SERVICES IN FIRST NATIONS CHILD CARE PROGRAMS.

4. TO IDENTIFY PROCESSES THAT ARE A PART OF FIRST NATIONS QUALITY CHILD CARE AND CREATE A FRAMEWORK FOR IMPLEMENTATION OF THOSE PROCESSES.

5. TO IDENTIFY BARRIERS AND SUPPORTS THAT EXISTING LEGISLATION AND POLICY PRESENT FOR DEVELOPING FIRST NATIONS QUALITY CHILD CARE PROGRAMS AND RESPONSES TO THOSE BARRIERS IDENTIFIED.

6. TO IDENTIFY THE SOURCE AND SCOPE OF FIRST NATIONS JURISDICTION IN CHILD CARE.

The research will be undertaken in three regions: British Columbia, Saskatchewan and Ontario. The first phase of the project involved a comprehensive literature review which is now substantially completed.

The second phase of the project involves interviewing "Key Informants" in each of the regions. They have been identified on the basis of their experience and involvement with Aboriginal child care and will include Elders, child care workers, administrators and parents. Interviews are expected to take approximately one to one and one-half hours.

All responses to key informant questions will be kept confidential. Any publication of key informant responses will be anonymous and edited to avoid identification of the informant. In the event you wish to be identified in relation to your responses that may be subsequently published, please advise us of your decision at our meeting.

We would appreciate if you could advise us prior to our interview if you are agreeable to your interview being recorded by a recording device or whether you would prefer to have your interview recorded by some other means.

We appreciate your willingness to participate in our project as a key informant and look forward to meeting with you on **at** . If you have any questions please telephone or fax Perry Shawana or Margo Greenwood:

Telephone: **(250)564-1026**
Fax: **(250)564-1027**

We look forward to seeing you in the near future.

Sincerely,

MARGO GREENWOOD **PERRY SHAWANA**
Principal Researchers
MG/PS/mj

APPENDIX C

CONSENT

CONSENT

FIRST NATIONS QUALITY CHILD CARE: A NATIONAL STUDY

CONSENT FORM

I, , AGREE THAT THE PRINCIPAL RESEARCHERS OF *FIRST NATIONS QUALITY CHILD CARE: A NATIONAL STUDY* HAVE MY CONSENT TO INCORPORATE THE RESULTS OF MY INTERVIEW WITH THEM INTO A NATIONAL REPORT AND SUCH OTHER DOCUMENTS THE PRINCIPAL RESEARCHERS DEEM APPROPRIATE. I ***DO/DO NOT*** WISH TO HAVE MYSELF IDENTIFIED AS A KEY INFORMANT AND MORE SPECIFICALLY TO BE QUOTED IN ANY DOCUMENT PREPARED BY THE RESEARCH TEAM.

_____
SIGNATURE

_____
PLEASE PRINT NAME

_____
DATE

APPENDIX D

FOCUS GROUP LETTER OF INVITATION

FOCUS GROUP LETTER OF INVITATION

ADSHAW MANAGEMENT SERVICES
506 - 550 Victoria Street
Prince George, BC V2L 2K1

Telephone: (250)564-1026
Fax: (250)564-1027

(DATE)

(ADDRESS)

ATTENTION:

Dear :

RE: FIRST NATIONS QUALITY CHILD CARE: A NATIONAL STUDY

Further to our recent telephone conversation Margo Greenwood and I are engaged in a national research project entitled, First Nations Quality Child Care: A National Study. This project is designed to define and examine First Nations "quality" child care with an emphasis on the role of provincial/territorial legislation and policies in the delivery of child care services.

The study will provide First Nations with descriptions of indicators and components of quality First Nations child care services, along with options and considerations for either current policy change and/or for assuming authority over child care services.

The project objectives are:

1. TO EXAMINE THE SOCIAL, POLITICAL AND HISTORICAL CONTEXT OF FIRST NATIONS COMMUNITIES RELATIVE TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF CHILD CARE SERVICES.

2. TO DETERMINE WHAT FIRST NATIONS COMMUNITIES PERCEIVE AS QUALITY CARE FOR THEIR CHILDREN.

3. TO IDENTIFY INDICATORS OF QUALITY SERVICES IN FIRST NATIONS CHILD CARE PROGRAMS.

4. TO IDENTIFY PROCESSES THAT ARE A PART OF FIRST NATIONS QUALITY CHILD CARE AND CREATE A FRAMEWORK FOR IMPLEMENTATION OF THOSE PROCESSES.

5. TO IDENTIFY BARRIERS AND SUPPORTS THAT EXISTING LEGISLATION AND POLICY PRESENT FOR DEVELOPING FIRST NATIONS QUALITY CHILD CARE PROGRAMS AND RESPONSES TO THOSE BARRIERS IDENTIFIED

6. TO IDENTIFY THE SOURCE AND SCOPE OF FIRST NATIONS JURISDICTION IN CHILD CARE.

The research is being undertaken in three regions: British Columbia, Saskatchewan and Ontario. The first phase of the project involved a comprehensive literature review which is now completed.

The second phase involved interviewing "Key Informants" in each of the regions. They were identified on the basis of their experience and involvement with Aboriginal child care and included Elders, child care workers, administrators and parents. Interviews took place through .

The third phase of the project is to conduct regional focus groups that involve parents, Elders and community leaders. The focus groups would serve to enhance and build upon the key informant responses.

For your information we are enclosing a draft summary of Key Informant Responses and an extract from our research plan explaining the purpose of focus groups in relation to our research.

We would like to hold 3 - 4 focus group sessions during the conference, two sessions, per day each one half day in duration. It is our desire to involve up to 10 people per focus group session, that would include persons as identified in the attached extract. Given your familiarity with your region, we are seeking your assistance in identifying participants for each of the focus groups.

To facilitate participation in the focus groups we would like to contribute $5,000.00 to your organization in consideration of your support and assistance in identifying participants in the focus groups and for conference proceedings.

Further, if you are interested we would be happy to present our project in a session open to all participants.

We welcome comments on how we might best proceed with implementation of the focus groups, in conjunction with your conference. Please let us know if this is agreeable to you so that we may proceed with our planning.

Thank you for your consideration.

Sincerely,

MARGO GREENWOOD **PERRY SHAWANA**
Principal Researchers
MG/PS/mj/Encl.

REGIONAL FOCUS GROUPS

Focus groups will be held in the selected provinces for this study. Based on information provided by the key informants and in consultation with the steering committee, focus groups will be designed to include representatives from First Nations residing in each region.

Two four focus groups will be conducted in each region. Several considerations will be taken into account when selecting participants for the focus groups. They include individuals from:

- First Nations delivering child care services in day homes,
- First Nations delivering child care services in centres,
- First Nations not currently providing child care services,
- remoteness (urban, rural and remote) of the First Nation,
- population size of First Nation, and
- representation of First Nations (eg. Cree, Ojibway, MicMac, Salish, etc.)

Although participant selection in each region may vary, representation of the region will remain the key factor in selection process.

Issues to be explored in the focus groups will address the following project objectives:

2. to determine what First Nations communities perceive as quality care for their children;
3. to identify indicators of quality services in First Nations child care programs; and
5. to identify barriers and supports that existing legislation and policy present for developing First Nations quality child care programs and responses to those barriers identified.

The focus groups will provide in-depth descriptive information on defining and identifying First Nations quality child care services, jurisdictional issues and barriers or supports in implementation of First Nations child care services. This data will be analyzed to determine common themes as well as provide fuller descriptions of what is currently occurring in First Nations communities. Descriptive reports for each province will be prepared and will form part of the final report.

Focus group participants will be provided with a copy of the results from the focus groups in their region.

APPENDIX E

CASE STUDY LETTER OF INVITATION

CASE STUDY LETTER OF INVITATION

ADSHAW ENTERPRISES LIMITED
506 - 550 Victoria Street
Prince George, BC V2L 2K1

Telephone: (250) 564-1026
Fax: (250) 564-1027

(DATE)

(ADDRESS)

ATTENTION:

Dear :

RE: FIRST NATIONS QUALITY CHILD CARE: A NATIONAL STUDY

Thank you for taking the time to meet with us at the Native Early Childhood Educators Supervisors conference in Toronto sponsored by the Ontario Indian Social Services Council in September 1999. As we discussed we are involved in a National study on First Nations quality child care and First Nations authority in child care.

There are four basic phases to the research project. They include, a literature review, key informant interviews, focus group meetings and site visits. We are currently embarking on the fourth phase of the research and would very much appreciate having the opportunity to include your community in the National study as a site visit.

Information from the focus groups will be used to develop questions that will generate information about communities involved in the site visits, child care services offered or desired, options developed and delivered to ensure quality child care and how the communities have addressed jurisdiction in child care. Enclosed for your information is a final copy of the focus group report from the Ontario region.

The primary objectives of the site visit are to:

- Examine the social, political and historical context of First Nations communities relative to the creation of child care services in the community,
- Identify processes that are a part of the First Nations quality child care program with a view to creating a framework for implementation of those processes in other communities, and
- Identify the source and scope of First Nations authority (jurisdiction) in child care.

To carry out these objectives we propose to meet with several individuals in your community. They include: elected chief and one councillor, 2 Elders, 2 parents using the child care service offered in the community, 2 persons not accessing the child care service offered in community, the child care administrator, caregivers working in the child care centre, and a Band administrator.

We anticipate one week to complete the site visit, inclusive of travel time. In consideration of the time required to travel we believe that it is possible to spend a total of four days in the community. The following dates are times when we could travel and complete the site visit in your community:

We would appreciate if you could confirm what time is most suitable for us to visit your community. If you require further information please contact us as our office in Prince George, BC at 1-877-564-1026.

Thank you for your consideration and assistance.

Sincerely,

MARGO GREENWOOD

PERRY SHAWANA

PS/MG/mj

APPENDIX F

KEY INFORMANT QUESTIONNAIRE

KEY INFORMANT QUESTIONNAIRE

A. BACKGROUND

1. Region: BC: _____ SK: _____ ON: _____

2.a Your position with Aboriginal childcare:

_____
_____
_____
_____

2.b Your background with Aboriginal childcare:

_____
_____
_____
_____

3. What geographical areas in your region are you most familiar with and/or do you have general knowledge of all areas?

_____
_____
_____
_____

4. Objective 1

To examine the social, political and historical context of First Nations communities relative to the establishment of child care services.

4.a What social influences affect First nations child care services in your Community? Region? Nation?

_____
_____
_____
_____

4.b What political influences affect First Nations child care services in your Community? Region? Nation?

B. QUALITY CARE

1. Objective 2

To determine what First Nations communities perceive as quality care for their children.

1.a What kinds of activities and learning opportunities do the following perceive to be best suited for their children?

i. Parents

ii. Extended Family Members

iii. Community Members

1.b What kinds of activities and leaning opportunities do you perceive to be best suited for your children in your care?

_____
_____
_____
_____

1.c Do current policies enable parents to attain the kinds of opportunities they desire for their children?

Yes _____ No _____ Don't Know _____

i. If no, why not and how should policies and services be changed to accommodate parents desires?

_____
_____
_____
_____

ii. If yes, how are current policy and services different from other non-First Nations experiences?

_____
_____
_____
_____

1.d Do current services enable parents to attain the kinds of opportunities they desire for their children?

Yes _____ No _____ Don't Know _____

i. If no, why not and how should policies and services be changed to accommodate parents desires?

_____
_____
_____
_____

ii. If yes, how are current policy and services different from other non-First Nations experiences?

_____
_____
_____
_____

1.e Do existing programs reflect assimilationist policies?

Yes _____ No _____ Don't Know _____

i. If yes, what can be done to ensure that existing programs empower Aboriginal children, families and communities?

_____
_____
_____
_____

2. Objective 3 and Objective 4

- To identify indicators of quality services in First Nations child care programs.
- To identify processes that are a part of First nations quality child care and create framework for implementation of those processes.

Physical environment

i. equipment and materials reflect children's community environment (E.g. Child size 'real' dug out canoe, cradle boards for dolls, etc.)

_____
_____
_____
_____

Caregivers

i. aboriginal caregivers

ii. caregivers are community members

iii. caregivers speak the traditional language of the community/nation

iv. caregivers verbal and non-verbal interactions with children reflect Community values, beliefs and practices

v. training and education

vi. stability

vii. experience

Children's program

i. routine and activities reflect children's community/home life

ii. timing of activities reflects children's community/home life (E.g. Seasonal activities, children eat when they are hungry, children are given as much time as they need)

iii. ceremonies reflective of children's community/home life are included

Teaching/learning

i. content of teaching reflects the values of children's Community/homelife

ii. teaching activities reflect the community/homelife of the children

iii. information presented to children is considerate of the ways in which they learn

Parental/community involvement

i. parental and community involvement in the direct delivery of services to children

ii. parental and community involvement in the administration of the childcare program

iii. learning opportunities and supports are available to parents

Legislative Aspects

i. age mix

ii. adult/child ratio

iii. group size

iv. intent

C. LEGISLATION, JURISDICTION AND AUTHORITY

1. Objective 5

To identify barriers and supports that existing legislation and policy present for developing First Nations quality child care programs and responses to those barriers identified.

1.a What current legislation impacts the delivery of childcare services in First Nations communities?

1.b What is the relationship between quality childcare services and legislative standards and regulations?

1.c How does this legislation impact on service delivery?

1.d What impacts support First Nations service delivery? Why?

1.e What impacts are barriers for First Nations service deliver? Why?

1.f What options are there for responding to legislative barriers to the delivery of First Nations child care services?

2. Objective 6

Identify the source and scope of First Nations jurisdiction in childcare.

2.a What does jurisdiction over childcare services by First Nations mean?

2.b How do we define "jurisdiction"?
- extent of authority
- service covered

2.c What are the sources of First Nations jurisdictions?

2.d What is the Aboriginal law that defines the roles and responsibilities? relating to children?

What are those laws?

2.e What authority do First Nations desire for childcare services?

APPENDIX G

FOCUS GROUP QUESTIONNAIRE

FOCUS GROUP QUESTIONNAIRE

SEPTEMBER/OCTOBER, 1999

DRAFT

1. What is a Quality child care program?

   What is its purpose?

   - What is in the centre?
   - What activities and learning opportunities should be available to children?
   - Who is in the centre or private home day care?
   - What training should workers have?
   - What is the role of the community?

   What processes need to be in place for the centre to operate? How should the administration look?

2. What are some the challenges to implementing child care services?

3. What barriers and supports are created by legislation for the development and delivery of child care services?

   What are some of the options for responding to the barriers created by legislation?

4. How do you define First Nations authority in child care?

   - Is this authority an inherent right and/or treaty right?
   - What does the authority include? Authority over what aspects of child care?
   - What First Nations values should be reflected in the authority?

APPENDIX H

CASE STUDY/SITE VISIT QUESTIONNAIRES

SITE VISIT QUESTIONNAIRES

CHIEF AND/OR COUNCILLORS
OCTOBER, 1999
DRAFT

General Questions

1. What type of child care services do you have in your community?

2. Who is responsible for child car services in your community?

3. Who administers child care services?

4. When were child care services set up in your community?

5. Where are the services situated?

6. Why have child care service opportunities?

7. Is child care part of your evaluation for self-determination/self-government?

Specific Questions

1. What historical influences affect First Nations child care services in your community? region? nation?

2. What political influences affect First Nations child care services in your community? region? nation?

3. What social influences affect First Nations child care services in your community? region? nation?

4. Who should be caring for children?

   What qualifications and experience should they have?

   Should care givers be from the community?

   Should they speak the traditional language of the community?

5. How should parents and community be involved in the direct delivery of the child care services? in the administration of the services?

6. What are some of the challenges to implementing child care services?

   What prevents you from developing and delivering child care services?

   How do you and the community respond to these challenges?

7. Who should be responsible for child care centres?

8. How is Chief and Council involved?

9. How are parents involved?

10. What is the role of the child care centre?

11. Should child care services be licensed? Why?

12. Who should license?

    Chief and Council?

    Other body?

    Province?

    Why?

13. If yes, what aspects should be licensed? Caregivers? Ratios? Health? Environment? Language/Cultural Content? Other?

14. If no, how should services be monitored and who should be responsible for this?

SITE VISIT QUESTIONNAIRES

FIRST NATION ADMINISTRATORS
OCTOBER, 1999
DRAFT

1. How is your First Nation structured in relation to delivery of child care?

2. How do things work in your community with respect to decision making, accountability and reporting?

SITE VISIT QUESTIONNAIRES

ELDERS
OCTOBER, 1999
DRAFT

1. Who should care for children?

2. What teachings are important for children to learn?

   What things are important for boys to learn? Girls to learn?

   What would be some of the seasonal activities children could participate in?

3. What values are important for children to learn?

   How should parent's contribute to children's learning?

4. Is the child care centre good for the community? Why?

5. Who should be responsible for the centre?

   How is chief and council involved in the centre? What is their role?

   How are parents involved in the centre? What is their role?

   How are Elders involved in the centre? What is their role?

6. Should the services be licensed? Who should license the centres?

SITE VISIT QUESTIONNAIRES

CHILD CARE ADMINISTRATORS
OCTOBER, 1999
DRAFT

1. How does the centre to operate? Financially and administratively?

   What role do you play in the administration of child care services?

2. How are the services funded? How does this affect service delivery?

3. Why is child care important in your community?

4. What activities and learning opportunities should be available to children?

5. Who are the caregivers in this centre?

   Are they from the community?

   Do your caregivers speak the traditional language of the community/nation?

   What experience do your caregivers offer the centre?

6. What training and education do the workers have?

   Is it adequate?

7. Does the community get involved in the centre? How?

   What other resource people are invited to the centre?

8. How are parents and community involved in the children's program?

   What are some of the challenges to involving resource involved in the program?

   What are the benefits to the children?

   What are the difficulties within the centre?

9. How are parents and community members involved in the administration of the program?

10. What learning opportunities and supports are available to parents?

Should there be other opportunities available to the parents?

11. What are some of the challenges that you encounter implementing and delivering child care services?

12. What barriers and supports are created by legislation for the development and delivery of child care services?

    How does the *Day Nurseries Act* affect your centre? What are the barriers it presents? What are the supports it provides?

13. What are some of the options for responding to the barriers created by legislation?

    How do you respond?

14. How do you define First Nations child care?

15. Who should be responsible for child care centres?

    How is chief and council involved? What is their role?

    How are parents involved in the centre? What is their role?

    How are Elders involved in the centre? What is their role?

16. Should the services be licensed? Who should license the centers?

    What aspects of the centre should be licensed?
    (programming, environment, etc.)

SITE VISIT QUESTIONNAIRES

CARE GIVERS QUESTIONNAIRE
OCTOBER, 1999
DRAFT

Background

1. Where are you from?

2. What is your position with Aboriginal childcare?

3. How long have you worked in child care? Where

Historical

4. Why is child care important to you?

   What social and economic issues affect First Nations child care services in your Community?

5. How are politicians involved in First Nations child care services in your Community?

Quality Care

6. What activities and learning opportunities do parents and caregivers ask you to provide to their children?

7. What activities and learning opportunities do you think are best suited for children in your care?

Policy

8. What policies do you have in your centre?

9. How do policies and services meet the needs of parents? children? caregivers? staff?

10. How do existing programs empower Aboriginal children, families and communities?

Physical Environment

11. How does the equipment and materials used in your centre reflect the children's community environment?

Children's Program

12. What routine and activities in your centre supports children's positive community/home life?

How does the timing of activities reflects children's community/home life ?
(E.g. Seasonal activities, children eat when they are hungry, children are given as much time as they need)

How are ceremonies reflective of children's community/home life?

Legislative Aspects

13. What should the age mix of children be?

14. What should the adult/child ratio be?

15. What would be a workable group size?

SITE VISIT QUESTIONNAIRES

PARENT
OCTOBER, 1999
DRAFT

1. Location

2. Describe your experience with children and child care centres.

3. Is the child care centre important to your community? Why? What is its purpose?

ASPECTS OF QUALITY

4. What teachings are important for children to learn?

5. What activities and learning opportunities do you perceive to be best suited for the children in the centre?

CAREGIVERS

6. Who should be caring for the children?

   What qualifications and training should caregivers have?

   Should they be from the community?

   Should they speak the traditional language?

PROGRAMMING

7. How do equipment and materials reflect children's community environment (eg. child size "real" dug out canoe, cradleboard for dolls etc.)?

   What routines and activities reflect children's community and home life?

   How does the timing of activities reflect children's community and home life (eg. seasonal activities, children eat when they are hungry, children are given as much time as they need)?

   How are ceremonies reflective of children's community and home life included in the children's program?

LEGISLATION, JURISDICTION AND AUTHORITY

8. Who should be responsible for child care centres?

   How is chief and council involved?

   What is the role of the parents?

9. Should the services be licensed? by whom?

PARENT NEEDS

10. Is the centre meeting parents' needs? how?

    Can you think of any needs not being met?

11. What learning opportunities and supports are available at the centre for parents?

SITE VISIT QUESTIONNAIRES

COMMUNITY MEMBERS
OCTOBER, 1999
DRAFT

1. Why is the child care centre important in your community?

1.a What do you think its purpose is?

1.b What things do you think children should be learning there?

2. Who should be caring for the children?

2.a What qualifications and training should they have?

2.b Should they be from the community?

2.c Speak the traditional language?

3. How do you define First Nations authority in child care?

3.a Is this authority an inherent right or treaty right?

3.b What does the authority include?

3.c Authority over what aspects of child care?

4. What First Nations values should be reflected in the authority?

APPENDIX I

FIRST NATIONS QUALITY CHILD CARE
VOLUME 1 - ONTARIO, JUNE 1999

first nations quality child care

Volume I - ontario, june 1999

Margo Greenwood
Perry Shawana

"Grandfather, what is the purpose of life?"

after a long time in thought, the old man looked up and said,

"Grandson, children are the purpose of life. We were once children and someone cared for us, and now it is our time to care."

(Brokenleg & Brendtro, 1989)

© Margo Greenwood & Perry Shawana, June 1999

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1. Introduction

The First Nations Quality Child Care Study is a national project that examines First Nations definitions of 'quality child care'. The study also examines the role of provincial legislation in the delivery of child care services and First Nations authority in child care.

The research is being undertaken in three regions: British Columbia, Saskatchewan and Ontario. There are four stages to the study: a comprehensive literature review, key informant interviews, focus groups, and site visits.

The study will support First Nations communities in defining quality child care as well as identifying options for assuming authority in child care.

The goals of the study are:

- Identify the social, political and historical influences on First Nations child care services.
- Examine First Nations definitions of quality child care.
- Identify indicators of First Nations quality child care service.
- Create a framework for First Nations quality child care services.
- Examine how legislation is a barrier or support for First Nations quality child care.
- Identify the source and scope of First Nations authority in child care.

The purpose of the focus groups is to give as many people as possible an opportunity to participate in describing and defining quality care for their children as well as identifying options for First Nations authority in child care. This document is designed to assist participants in focus group discussions by providing them with background information.

2. First Nations Child Care in Canada - Milestones

1965	■ Canada/Ontario Agreement Respecting Welfare Programs for Indians
1966	■ Hawthorne Report
1980	■ Royal Commission on the Status of Women
1984	■ National Task Force on Child Care
1987	■ Special Committee on Child Care - Sharing the Responsibility
1988	■ National Commission on Aboriginal Child Care (NCC)
1988-1995	■ Child Care Initiatives Fund (HRDC)
1989	■ The National Inquiry into First Nations Child Care (AFN)
1990	■ Native Child Care: The Circle of Care (NCC)
1992	■ Bright Futures Initiative (Health Canada)
1993	■ Social Security Discussion Paper (HRDC)
1994	■ National Overview of First Nations Child Care in Canada (AFN)
	■ First Nations and Inuit Child Care Initiative announced (HRDC)
	■ Aboriginal Head Start Initiative announced for Northern and Remote Communities Off Reserve (Health Canada)
1996	■ Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples
1997	■ National Children's Agenda
1998	■ Aboriginal Head Start announced for On Reserve (Health Canada)
	■ National Child Benefit Program

NCC - Native Council of Canada HRDC - Human Resources Development Canada AFN - Assembly of First Nations

3. The Need For First Nations Child Care

In 1986, the Native Women's Association of Canada identified child care as a way to preserve culture and heal the family and community. In their presentation to the House of Commons they stated:

> The reason why child care is so important is because of the nature of our families, of the social economic conditions of our men and women.

The *National Inquiry into First Nations Child Care* prepared by the Assembly of First Nations (AFN) in 1989 stressed the importance of First Nations child care in providing children with an early sense of security, stability, motivation and pride. The report noted that First Nations view child care from a holistic perspective and that child care may be a vehicle for social change.

> First Nations envisage a major role for child care in undoing the damage already done ... (with) child care centres as foci for family healing ... (and) as the nuclei for community health in the best sense of the word. (p. 50)

> Above all, First Nations see the child care centre as the community core. Before Indians became a colonized people, children were at the heart of the community. First Nations would restore them to that place and in so doing restore themselves. First Nations have come full circle as the creator desires. (p. 50)

In the *Circle of Care* (1990) the Native Council of Canada viewed child care as a way to pass on culture and to create social change.

The *Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, Vol. 3* (1996) documents Aboriginal people as saying:

> Most important, [Aboriginal people] see early childhood [services] as a means of reinforcing Aboriginal identity, instilling the values, attitudes and behaviors that give expression to Aboriginal cultures. (p. 449)

4. The Vision

In the *First Nations/Inuit Child Care Program and Funding Framework* (1995) the joint Working Group describe what child care services should teach.

> Children are viewed as a gift to us. Child care services for our children must be guided by the wisdom of the generations, by the values and beliefs of our people. These programs must nurture the development of healthy children, based on their emotional, spiritual, physical and mental needs. (p. 10)

In the *National Overview of First Nations Child Care in Canada* (1995) the Assembly of First Nations (AFN) describes a vision of quality and culturally appropriate First Nations child care service. Some of the principles identified by the AFN include:

- Because child care services are required at such a crucial time in a child's development, First Nations have the right to expect that the child care system will build upon the positive identity of our children.
- The care of First Nations children is first and foremost a parental responsibility. Parents must be involved in decisions concerning the operation and delivery of child care services.
- Services that are provided in First Nations communities must be culturally sensitive, nonprofit, comprehensive, accessible, high quality, affordable and administered by appropriate First Nations caregivers whenever possible.
- Quality child care to First Nations has a special meaning. Involvement of Elders with respect to Aboriginal languages and traditional values is an essential component in achieving quality care. There is a need to protect and redevelop the traditional aspect of child care particularly due to the "Mission School Syndrome".
- First Nations have an inherent right to develop and control their own child care systems. First Nations should develop national minimum standards for First Nations child care guidelines. Those guidelines must reflect First Nations values and traditions.

Diversity in Child Care

Children have a right to the culture into which they are born. For First Nations children this is a significant issue given the distinct beliefs, values and history of First Nations peoples. To be healthy individuals children must know who they are and where they come from. It is only with healthy individuals that we are able to achieve healthy communities and Nations.

As in all segments of society First Nations society is constantly shifting and changing. The Joint Working Committee noted in its document *First Nations/Inuit Child Care Program and Funding Framework* (1995) that:

> First Nations community life has changed dramatically. Lifestyle has changed from being internally driven and focussed on meeting basic family and community needs to that which is much more externally driven. Economic, political and social systems have been drastically altered, the role of the family has changed and basics such as health care, education, and housing look nothing like what was in place half a century ago. (p. 5)

In the last half of the 20th century there has been a greater ability to be mobile. This has meant larger numbers of First Nations people living outside their community of birth and the introduction of other cultures into First Nations communities. As First Nations deliver child care services in the hearts of their communities they will have to face the challenges of the interface between their values and beliefs and those of other world views.

5. Ontario - What Currently Exists

FIRST NATIONS CHILD CARE IN ONTARIO, 1995[1]

Ontario funds and licenses on-reserve child care. As of September, 1994 there were 48 licensed child care centres on-reserve with a capacity to service 1,803 children. There were also 5 centres off-reserve with the capacity to service 160 Aboriginal children, and 4 private home day care agencies with 36 homes serving Aboriginal children. The Day Nurseries Act treats Indian Bands like municipalities for the purpose of child care funding and administration. Expenses are cost-shared with the federal government through the 1965 *Canada/Ontario Agreement Respecting Welfare Programs for Indians.*

CHILD CARE STANDARDS AND REGULATIONS IN ONTARIO

Maximum Staff/Child Ratios and Group Sizes

Age	Staff/Child Ratio	Max. Group Size
0-8 mos	1:3	10
18 mos - 2 yrs	1:5	15
2-5 yrs	1:8	16
5-6 yrs	1:12	24
6-10 yrs	1:15	30

[1] *Source:* Information in this section of the document is primarily taken from *Child Care in Canada: Provinces and Territories 1995*. The Childcare Resource and REsearch Unit, 1997

Staff Qualifications Requirements
Centre supervisors must have a 2 year diploma in Early Childhood Education (ECE) from an approved College of Applied Arts and Technology (CAAT) or the equivalent. Supervisors must also have at least 2 years experience working in a day nursery with children who are of the same age and developmental level as the children in the day nursery where the supervisor is employed.

One staff person with each group of children must have a 2 year ECE diploma (CAAT) or equivalent.

A resource teacher must hold a diploma in ECE or academic equivalent and have completed a post-secondary school program related to children with special needs. If working with special needs children the resource worker must also have a current standard certificate in first-aid. Other staff working with children who have special needs do not require training or experience.

The Ministry Director has the authority to waive the educational requirements for directors and other staff in any program.

Parental Involvement
Each centre and private home day care agency must have a written statement regarding parent involvement. The type of parental involvement is not specified in the regulations.

Licensing, Monitoring and Enforcement
Ministry program advisors enforce the *Day Nurseries Act* and related regulations. Program advisors are not required to have training in ECE. The annual license renewal process includes an inspection of the facility. Program advisors also conduct unannounced drop-in visits.

Child care centres are expected to comply with standards established by the regulations. A license may be revoked when non-compliance with the regulation poses an immediate or likely danger to the well-being of children. The program advisor has the discretion to grant a provisional license where non-compliance does not pose an immediate threat to the well-being of children. A provisional license usually requires that the centre correct the non-compliance within a specified time frame.

Formal notice of an intention to revoke a license must be given by the Director of Child Care to the centre who then has the right to appeal to the Child and Family Services Review Board.

REGULATED FAMILY DAY CARE

In Ontario, family day care has been historically referred to as 'private home day care'. Those in the sector and government officials use the term 'home child care'.

Regulation
The province licenses private home day care agencies who supervise and enter into agreements with caregivers.

Maximum Capacity
Up to 5 children from 0-12 can be cared for in a private home that is supervised by a licensed agency. The home child care service cannot have more than 2 children under 2 years, and not more than 3 children under 3 years, including the caregiver's own children under 6 years.

Provider Qualification Requirements
Regulations require that caregivers in a private home be at least 18 years of age and, if working with special needs children to hold a standard first-aid certificate.

Agency staff known as home visitors supervise caregivers in a private home. Home visitors must have completed a post-secondary program in child development or family studies. Home visitors must also have at least 2 years experience working with children who are the same age and developmental levels as the children cared for by the agency where the home visitor is employed.

Licensing, Monitoring and Enforcement
The home visitor is required to conduct quarterly in-home supervisory visits. The Agency employing the home visitor is responsible for ensuring that standards set by the legislation are met.

SOME STATISTICS TO CONSIDER

First Nations Population in Ontario for 1982 - 1997

	1982[2]		1996[2]		1997[3]	
	#	%	#	%	#	%
ON RESERVE	49,487	67.4	70,434	50.9	72,583	51
OFF RESERVE	23,992	32.6	68,084	49.1	69,825	49
TOTAL POPULATION	73,429		138,518		142,408	

First Nations Population by Age Group 0-19, Gender, and Residence - 1997[3]

	On Reserve		Off Reserve		Total	
	Male (%)	Female (%)	Male (%)	Female (%)	Male (%)	Female (%)
0-4 yrs	3,098 (10.7)	2,966 (10.3)	1,608 (8.9)	1,457 (8.0)	4,706 (10)	4,423 (9.4)
5-9 yrs	4,206 (14.5)	3,965 (13.7)	2,531 (13.9)	2,373 (13.1)	6,737 (14.3)	6,338 (13.5)
10-14 yrs	3,939 (13.7)	3,645 (12.7)	2,517 (13.8)	2,465 (13.6)	6,456 (13.7)	6,110 (13)
15-19 yrs	3,480 (12.1)	3,561 (12.3)	2,612 (14.4)	2,607 (14.4)	6,092 (13)	6,618 (13.1)
TOTAL	14,723 (51%)	14,137 (49%)	9,268 (51%)	8,902 (49%)	23,991 (51%)	23,039 (49%)
TOTAL Both Gender	28,860 (61.4%)		18,170 (38.6%)		47,030 (100%)	

[2] Source DIAND, Basic Department Data, March 1998
[3] Source DIAND, Indian Register Population by Sex and Residence 1997, February

6. In the Words of the People - Ontario

The following is a summary of Ontario key informant responses involved with the First Nations Quality Child Care - A National Study. Key informants included elders, parents, caregivers, administrators and policy analysts.

INFLUENCES ON FIRST NATIONS CHILD CARE SERVICES

There are historical, political and social influences that may affect the development and delivery of First Nations child care services. The following words are some of the influences expressed by the key informants:

1. **Historical**
   - The experience of residential school has a big impact on how we care for our children.
   - We should be careful to ensure that we do not replace residential schools with child care services.
   - Traditional ways of caring for children are being lost. We need to reinvest in traditional child care systems.

2. **Political**
   - Child care is often not a local, regional or national priority.
   - Child care is viewed as a women's issue.
   - We must have greater access to policy and decision-makers to ensure there are funds for services in communities.
   - Child care is viewed as a treaty right.

3. **Social**
   - All forms of abuse (sexual, physical, alcohol and drugs) in communities have an impact on children. These abuses often result in children with special needs.
   - There is a need for parental skill development.

FIRST NATIONS QUALITY CHILD CARE

First Nations quality child care would provide:

- Safe, loving, nurturing and healthy care for children.
- Language and culture so that children are instilled with a sense of pride. This pride forms the basis for becoming stable, contributing community members.
- School readiness skills so that children can be successful in school.

ASPECTS OF QUALITY

Environment

- Equipment and materials that strengthen knowledge of local histories and community allow children to be more competent about their culture. History can only make a child stronger

Caregivers

- Caregivers in First Nations child care settings should be Aboriginal, from the community and speak their language. Caregivers should have training that is culturally appropriate, sensitive to cultural values and the community they work in.

Programming

- Child care centres have a responsibility to equip children with ways that parents cannot, for example, reading to children.
- Routines and activities should reflect a child's community/home life if those activities and routines are healthy and good for the child.
- Local seasonal activities should be incorporated into programming such as fishing, hunting, and harvesting.
- There is diversity of opinion around including ceremonies in programming such as smudging, naming and praying.
- The content of what is taught and how it is taught should reflect the community/home life of children. Having community caregivers as role models, using storytelling and nature in teaching are important aspects for Aboriginal children's learning.

PARENT/COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT

- It is important for Elders, community representatives and other key people in the community to be involved in direct delivery of services.
- Parents and Elders should be involved with administration of the child care centre.
- There is some debate whether child care centres should provide learning opportunities for parents: one view is that this is a responsibility of other agencies while another view is that it would encourage greater parental participation in service delivery.

CURRENT LEGISLATION AND FIRST NATIONS AUTHORITY IN CHILD CARE

Do services reflect assimilation policies?

Current child care legislation, regulation and policies reflect an overall policy of assimilation.

> Services are based on the constitutional division of powers. They reflect a policy of assimilation because there is no recognition that we are different, have different ways of rearing children, hold a different world view, have different standards in our communities, different ways of thinking and different geographic circumstances.

Legislation is a tool of assimilation where others and not the community look out for the 'best interests' of Indians.

LEGISLATION

Supports Created by Legislation

- Safety for children.
- Protection for caregivers.
- Ability to develop our own philosophies that guide programs

Barriers Created by Existing Legislation

- Prohibitive building code requirements.
- Restrictive health standards. For example, health standards require that food served in child care centres be government certified, preventing traditional foods from being served such as moose, goose, fish and other staple foods in the home.
- Inability to use on the job training opportunities in First Nations child care centres for accreditation.
- Imposed adult/child care ratios that may be inappropriate.
- Imposed segregation of children by age grouping prevents caregiving in family groupings. This often results in siblings being unable to interact with each other at the child care centre.
- Lack of community capacity to develop and deliver child care services.
- Inability to hold the provincial and federal governments accountable to the community.

Source and Scope of First Nations Authority in Child Care

- First Nations jurisdiction over child care means the ability to make decisions that affect the way a child is reared. It enables our communities to set standards that reflect our traditions, to reinforce our duty and responsibility as caregivers and not owners of children.
- First Nations view their authority in child care as an inherent right that has existed from time immemorial. The ability to exercise this authority is not viewed as deriving from legislation, whether it be the constitution or other subordinate legislation.
- The scope of First Nations authority in child care is viewed as all encompassing, including licensing, monitoring, setting standards and guidelines for quality care.

7. Questions

1. What is a Quality child care program?
   What is its purpose?
   - What is in the Centre?
   - What activities and learning opportunities should be available to children?
   - Who is in the centre or private home day care?
   - What training should workers have?

   What is the role of community?

   What processes need to be in place for the centre to operate? How should the administration look?

2. What are some of the challenges to implementing child care services?

3. What barriers and support are created by legislation for the development and delivery of child care services?

   - What are some of the options for responding to the barriers created by legislation?

4. How do you define First Nations authority in child care?
   - Is this authority an inherent right and/or treaty right?
   - What does the authority include? Authority over what aspects of child care?
   - What Frist Nations values should be reflected in the authority.

14

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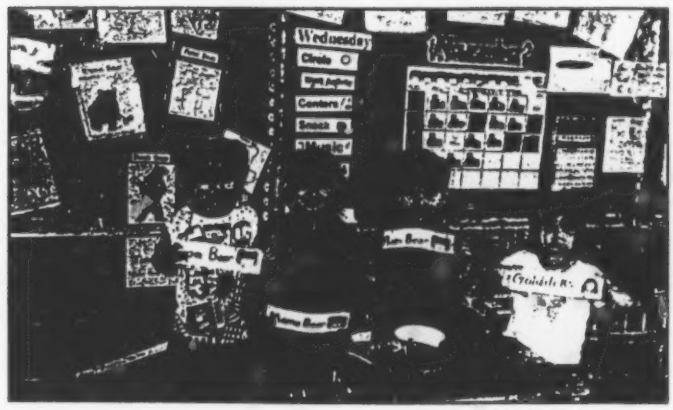

The authors wish to acknowledge Human Resources Development Canada. Employability and Partnership Division for their support and contribution to the national study. The views expressed in this document are solely those of the authors and key informant participants.

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Appendix A

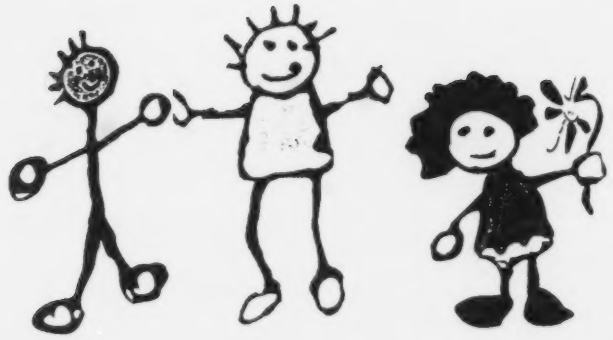
List of Ontario First Nations Child Care Sevices, 1992

Akwesasne (Mohawks of)	140	DCC, LKP and PHP
Aldervillie	52	DCC
Anishnabe Wauzhushk Onigum (Rat Portage)	32	DCC
Attawapiskat	24	DCC
Batchewana	56	DCC (2 centres)
Beausoleil	60	DCC and LKP
Chippewas of the Thames	29	DCC
Constance Lake	36	DCC
Couchiching	32	DCC
Curve Lake	47	DCC and LKP
Fort Albany	24	DCC
Garden River	73	DCC
Golden Lake	25	DCC
Grassy Narrows	30	DCC
Gull Bay	26	DCC
Iskutewisaakaygun	32	DCC
Kettle Point	48	DCC
Long Lake #58	32	DCC
Mississauga #8	40	DCC
Moose Factory	55	DCC
Moravian of the Thames	35	DCC
Muncey Delaware Nation	44	DCC
Nawash (Chippewas of)	56	DCC
New Credit	32	DCC
Nipissing	16	DCC
Northwest Angle #33	n/a	Whitefish Bay DCC
Northwest Angle #37	n/a	Whitefish Bay DCC
Onegaming	26	DCC
Onyota'a:ka	24	DCC
Pic River	16	DCC
Rama (Chippewas of)	30	DCC, LKP and PHP
Sagamok Anishnawbek	25	DCC
Sarnia (Chippewas of)	30	DCC
Saugeen	45	DCC
Serpent River	19	DCC
Shoal Lake #40	26	DCC
Six Nations	89	DCC, LKP and PHP
Sucker Creek	26	DCC
Tyendinaga (Mohawks of the Bay of Quinte)	36	DCC
Wabaseemoong	64	DCC
Walpole Island	115	DCC
Washagamis Bay	n/a	Transportation to DCC at Whitefish Bay
Wasauksing	57	DCC
West Bay	64	DCC
Whitefish Bay	45	DCC
Wikwemikong	64	DCC
TOTAL	**1683**	**(43 centres - 5 in planning for 1994/95)**

Day Care Centre (DCC) Latch Key Program (LKP) Private Home Program (PHP)

In our history it tells us of a prophecy of the seventh fire, fire representing time, eras. In that prophecy, it says that in the time of the seventh fire, as new people will emerge to retrace the steps of our grandfathers, to retrieve the things that were lost but not of our own accord. There was a time in the history of Anishnabe people we nearly lost all of these things that we once had as a people, and that road narrowed ... but today we strive to remind our people of our stories once again, to pick up that work that we as Anishnabe people know. It is our work and we ask no one to do that work, for it is our responsibility to maintain those teachings for our people.

Charles Nelson, Rosseau River, Manitoba, 8 December 1992, (Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, Vol. 1, 1996, pp. 617-618)



First Nations Quality Child Care: A National Study

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APPENDIX J

FIRST NATIONS QUALITY CHILD CARE
VOLUME 2 - SASKATCHEWAN, OCTOBER 1999

first nations quality child care

Volume 2 - Saskatchewan, october 1999

"Grandfather, what is the purpose of life?"

after a long time in thought, the old man looked up and said,

"Grandson, children are the purpose of life.
We were once children and someone cared for us, and
now it is our time to care."

(Brokenleg & Brendtro, 1989)

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REFERENCES

1. Introduction

The First Nations Quality Child Care Study is a national project that examines First Nations definitions of 'quality child care'. The study also examines the role of provincial legislation in the delivery of child care services and First Nations authority in child care.

The research is being undertaken in three regions: British Columbia, Saskatchewan and Ontario. There are four stages to the study: a comprehensive literature review, key informant interviews, focus groups, and site visits.

The study will support First Nations communities in defining quality child care as well as identifying options for assuming authority in child care.

The goals of the study are:

- Identify the social, political and historical influences on First Nations child care services.
- Examine First Nations definitions of quality child care.
- Identify indicators of First Nations quality child care service.
- Create a framework for First Nations quality child care services.
- Examine how legislation is a barrier or support for First Nations quality child care.
- Identify the source and scope of First Nations authority in child care.

The purpose of the focus groups is to give as many people as possible an opportunity to participate in describing and defining quality care for their children as well as identifying options for First Nations authority in child care. This document is designed to assist participants in focus group discussions by providing them with background information.

2. First Nations Child Care in Canada - Milestones

1965	■ Canada/Ontario Agreement Respecting Welfare Programs for Indians
1966	■ Hawthorne Report
1980	■ Royal Commission on the Status of Women
1984	■ National Task Force on Child Care
1987	■ Special Committee on Child Care - Sharing the Responsibility
1988	■ National Commission on Aboriginal Child Care (NCC)
1988-1995	■ Child Care Initiatives Fund (HRDC)
1989	■ The National Inquiry into First Nations Child Care (AFN)
1990	■ Native Child Care: The Circle of Care (NCC)
1992	■ Bright Futures Initiative (Health Canada)
1993	■ Social Security Discussion Paper (HRDC)
1994	■ National Overview of First Nations Child Care in Canada (AFN)
	■ First Nations and Inuit Child Care Initiative announced (HRDC)
	■ Aboriginal Head Start Initiative announced for Northern and Remote Communities Off Reserve (Health Canada)
1996	■ Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples
1997	■ National Children's Agenda
1998	■ Aboriginal Head Start announced for On Reserve (Health Canada)
	■ National Child Benefit Program

NCC - Native Council of Canada HRDC - Human Resources Development Canada AFN - Assembly of First Nations

3. The Need For First Nations Child Care

In 1986, the Native Women's Association of Canada identified child care as a way to preserve culture and heal the family and community. In their presentation to the House of Commons they stated:

> The reason why child care is so important is because of the nature of our families, of the social economic conditions of our men and women.

The *National Inquiry into First Nations Child Care* prepared by the Assembly of First Nations (AFN) in 1989 stressed the importance of First Nations child care in providing children with an early sense of security, stability, motivation and pride. The report noted that First Nations view child care from a holistic perspective and that child care may be a vehicle for social change.

> First Nations envisage a major role for child care in undoing the damage already done ... (with) child care centres as foci for family healing ... (and) as the nuclei for community health in the best sense of the word. (p. 50)

> Above all, First Nations see the child care centre as the community core. Before Indians became a colonized people, children were at the heart of the community. First Nations would restore them to that place and in so doing restore themselves. First Nations have come full circle as the creator desires.(p. 50)

In the *Circle of Care* (1990) the Native Council of Canada viewed child care as a way to pass on culture and to create social change.

The *Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, Vol.3* (1996) documents Aboriginal people as saying:

> Most important, [Aboriginal people] see early childhood [services] as a means of reinforcing Aboriginal identity, instilling the values, attitudes and behaviors that give expression to Aboriginal cultures. (p. 449)

4. The Vision

In the *First Nations/Inuit Child Care Program and Funding Framework* (1995) the Joint Working Group describe what child care services should teach.

> Children are viewed as a gift to us. Child care services for our children must be guided by the wisdom of the generations, by the values and beliefs of our people. These programs must nurture the development of healthy children, based on their emotional, spiritual, physical and mental needs. (p. 10)

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- The care of First Nations children is first and foremost a parental responsibility. Parents must be involved in decisions concerning the operation and delivery of child care services.
- Services that are provided in First Nations communities must be culturally sensitive, nonprofit, comprehensive, accessible, high quality, affordable and administered by appropriate First Nations caregivers whenever possible.
- Quality child care to First Nations has a special meaning. Involvement of Elders with respect to Aboriginal languages and traditional values is an essential component in achieving quality care. There is a need to protect and redevelop the traditional aspect of child care particularly due to the "Mission School Syndrome".
- First Nations have an inherent right to develop and control their own child care systems. First Nations should develop national minimum standards for First Nations child care guidelines. Those guidelines must reflect First Nations values and traditions.

Diversity in Child Care

Children have a right to the culture into which they are born. For First Nations children this is a significant issue given the distinct beliefs, values and history of First Nations peoples. To be healthy individuals children must know who they are and where they come from. It is only with healthy individuals that we are able to achieve healthy communities and Nations.

As in all segments of society First Nations society is constantly shifting and changing. The Joint Working Committee noted in its document *First Nations/Inuit Child Care Program and Funding Framework* (1995) that:

> First Nations community life has changed dramatically. Lifestyle has changed from being internally driven and focussed on meeting basic family and community needs to that which is much more externally driven. Economic, political and social systems have been drastically altered, the role of the family has changed and basics such as health care, education, and housing look nothing like what was in place half a century ago. (p. 5)

In the last half of the 20th century there has been a greater ability to be mobile. This has meant larger numbers of First Nations people living outside their community of birth and the introduction of other cultures into First Nations communities. As First Nations deliver child care services in the hearts of their communities they will have to face the challenges of the interface between their values and beliefs and those of other world views.

5. Saskatchewan - What currently Exists

FIRST NATIONS CHILD CARE IN SASKATCHEWAN[1]

Since 1995 First Nations in Saskatchewan have participated in the First Nations / Inuit Child Care Initiative. Unlike other jurisdictions in Canada the Province of Saskatchewan does not license child care services on reserve lands. As of 1995 there were 3 licensed child care agencies for Aboriginal children living off reserve.

Since the Province of Saskatchewan does not license services on reserve lands, First Nations and Tribal Councils have developed their own regulations and standards for child care services. These regulations are in draft form and have yet to be approved by the respective First Nations authorities.

PROVINCIAL CHILD CARE STANDARDS AND REGULATIONS IN SASKATCHEWAN

Outlined below is a summary of Provincial Saskatchewan child care regulations.

Maximum Staff/Child Ratios and Group Sizes for Centre Based Care

Age	Staff/Child Ratio	Max. Group Size
0-18 mos	1:3	6
18 mos - 29 mos	1:5	10
30 mos - 6 yrs	1:10	20
5 yrs - older	1:15	15

[1] Source: Information in this section of the document is primarily taken from *Child Care in Canada: Provinces and Territories 1995*, The Childcare Resource and Research Unit, 1997

Provincial Child Care Standards and Regulations...cont'd

Staff Qualifications Requirements
Centre Supervisors must have a 2 year diploma in Early Childhood Education (ECE) from an approved College of Applied Arts & Technology (CAAT) or the equivalent. Supervisors must have 2 years experience in a day nursery with children of the same age and developmental level as those where the supervisor is employed.

One staff person with each group of children must have a 2 year ECE diploma (CAAT) or equivalent.

A resource teacher must hold a diploma in ECE or academic equivalent and have completed a post-secondary school program related to children with special needs. If working with special needs children the resource worker must also have a current standard certificate in first-aid. Other staff working with children who have special needs are not required to have training or experience.

The Ministry Director has the authority to waive the educational requirements for directors and other staff in any program.

Parental Child Involvement
The Care Centre regulations require that parental advisory committees be established for each centre. The regulations also set out the manner in which advisory committees are established, the appointment of a chair person, responsibility of the committee and presentation of meeting minutes.

Licensing, Monitoring and Enforcement
Provincial program consultants develop, license, monitor and consult with both centres and family child care homes. They conduct two annual visits. Consultants are not required to have a background in early childhood education.

Program consultants may close a program where:

- a service has not been complied with the standards
- non-compliance with the standards has not been addressed within 6 months
- a provisional or conditional license has expired

The decision of a program consultant cannot be appealed.

REGULATED FAMILY DAY CARE

Family day care is licensed individually.

Maximum Capacity
Up to 8 children between 6 weeks and 12 years can be enrolled in a family day care. Only 5 children may be younger than 6 years and only 2 children younger than 30 months.

Provider Qualification Requirements
The caregiver must be:

- at least 18 years of age
- complete a 60 hour orientation course
- complete first aid training

Monitoring and Enforcement
Family day care may be monitored by a home visitor whom is required to conduct quarterly in-home supervisory visits. The agency employing the home visitor is responsible for ensuring that standards set by the legislation are met.

SOME STATISTICS TO CONSIDER

First Nations Population in Saskatchewan for 1982 - 1997

	1982[2]		1996		1997[3]	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
ON RESERVE	36,335	67.1	49,176	51.8	50,447	51.6
OFF RESERVE	17,781	22.6	45,777	48.2	47,329	48.2
TOTAL POPULATION	54,116		94,953		97,776	

First Nations Population by Age Group 0-19, Gender, and Residence - 1997[3]

	On Reserve		Off Reserve		Total	
	Male (%)	Female (%)	Male (%)	Female (%)	Male (%)	Female (%)
0-4 yrs	3,343 (13.0)	3,293 (12.7)	2,316 (11.1)	2,260 (10.8)	5,659 (12.1)	5,553 (11.9)
5-9 yrs	3,923 (15.2)	3,690 (14.3)	3,207 (15.3)	3,003 (14.4)	7,130 (15.3)	6,693 (14.3)
10-14 yrs	3,227 (12.5)	3,111 (12.1)	2,766 (13.2)	2,704 (12.9)	5,993 (12.9)	5,815 (12.5)
15-19 yrs	2,668 (10.4)	2,494 (9.6)	2,353 (11.2)	2,298 (11.0)	5,021 (10.7)	4,792 (10.3)
TOTAL	**13,161 (51.1)**	**12,588 (48.9)**	**10,642 (50.9)**	**10,265 (49.1)**	**23,803 (51.0)**	**22,853 (49.0)**
TOTAL Both Gender	**25,749 (61.4)**		**20,907 (38.6)**		**46,656 (100)**	

[2] Source: DIAND, Basic Department Data, March 1998
[3] Source: DIAND, Indian Register Population by Sex and Residence 1997, February

6. In the Words of the People - Saskatchewan

The following is a summary of Saskatchewan key informant responses involved with the First Nations Quality Child Care - A National Study. Key informants included Elders, parents, caregivers, administrators and policy analysts.

INFLUENCES ON FIRST NATIONS CHILD CARE SERVICES

There are historical, political and social influences that may affect the development and delivery of First Nations child care services. Some of the influences identified by the key informants include:

1. **Historical**
   - The residential school experience was intended to colonize our people; children were denied loving, nurturing parents.
   - Traditional child rearing practices have changed over time. We need to examine how they have changed.

2. **Political**
   - Child care services are not priority regionally, provincially and nationally, however local Band elected officials are very supportive of child care services. One of the key factors was job creation for community members.
   - Politics in local communities often influences who works in child care centres and how that service is delivered.

3. **Social**

   Child poverty and hunger are the most common social influences impacting on child care.

   Alcohol abuse is significant. Many children are afflicted with FAE and FAS.

   Family violence is also common. Violence and alcohol abuse can be traced to loss of traditional lands.

FIRST NATIONS QUALITY CHILD CARE

First Nations quality child care would provide:

- An opportunity to teach children respect for self and others through kindness and gentleness.
- An opportunity to pass language and culture to children.
- A place where:
  - children are safe
  - children's nutritional needs are met
  - children obtain school readiness

ASPECTS OF QUALITY

Environment

- The environment should be safe for children and the community should be involved in creating it. It is important that materials and equipment reflect the community. This is a quiet affirmation of who we are.

Caregivers

- Caregivers that are Aboriginal and from the community are preferred. It is important that there be continuity of staff, that they are healthy, of good standing in the community and have experience with children.

Training

- It is important caregivers have First Nations life skills training that involves Elders. Real life experiences of caregivers should also be accredited.

Programming

- Routines and activities that reflect the healthy and positive home life of children should be in the child care centre.
- It is important to incorporate community training into programming because it helps restore a sense of community and community values.
- Some participants indicated that ceremonies in programming should only be done if it is the desire of the community, others felt appropriate ceremonies should be incorporated to help restore culture.

Teaching/Learning

"The content of teaching should most definitely reflect the community and home life of children. We need to teach our children our ways, including kindness and respect in our daily lives. It is important to learn how to be a part of the community, learning to respect and understand other people to share, be honest and follow through with what you say you are going to do."

Parent/Community Involvement

- It is important for parents and community members to be involved in the direct delivery of child care. The centre is a place where community members can share their gifts with each other and children. It can also be a place where parents have opportunities to learn
- There is a need for parent involvement in the administration of child care.

CURRENT LEGISLATIONS & FIRST NATIONS AUTHORITY IN CHILD CARE - Legislation

Existing provincial legislation (Day Care Act) is not supportive of First Nations child care services. Some Tribal Councils have either received or are seeking a certificate of equivalency from the province, yet it is not clear whether provincial subsidies for on reserve services are available either to parents or caregivers.

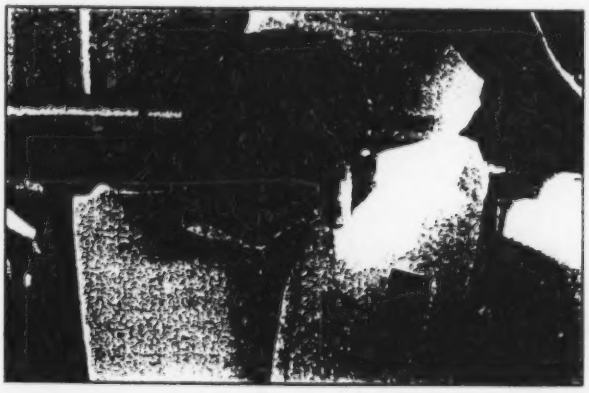
There is a relationship between regulations and achieving quality care for First Nations children. Regulations ensure safety for children and services that can be monitored for accountability. Having regulations alone does not mean there is quality care. In response to the refusal of Saskatchewan to licence on Indian reserves First Nations have developed their own policies and regulations. Where First Nations policies and regulations have been developed participants noted that if the community does not have control of services, the policy & regulations may reflect a policy of assimilation.

Barriers Created by Provincial Legislation

- Provincial authorities refusing to go on reserve land to license child care centres has forced First Nations to develop their own regulations if they want to access child care initiative funding. Some communities view this as a support to child care services because they would rather have their own regulations for child care services.
- There are other barriers created by federal guidelines, for instance the expectation that service will be operational within 3 years (eg. 1999), the requirements that child care centres have liability insurance and caregivers with early childhood education certification.

Source and Scope of First Nations Authority in Child Care

- First Nations jurisdiction in child care means the ability to legislate standards of care, to license and monitor child care services, and to have the authority to look after our own children.
- Child care services must follow the teachings of our Elders and provide services that reflect children's physical, mental, spiritual and emotional well being. Services must be based on our values and traditions.



7. Questions

1. What is a Quality child care program?
   What is its purpose?
   - What is in the Centre?
   - What activities and learning opportunities should be available to children?
   - Who is in the centre or private home day care?
   - What training should workers have?
   - What is the role of community?

   - What processes need to be in place for the centre to operate? How should the administration look?

2. What are some of the challenges to implementing child care services?

3. - What barriers and support are created by legislation for the development and delivery of child care services?

   - What are some of the options for responding to the barriers created by legislation?

4. How do you define First Nations authority in child care?
   - Is this authority an inherent right and/or treaty right?
   - What does the authority include? Authority over what aspects of child care?
   - What First Nations values should be reflected in the authority?

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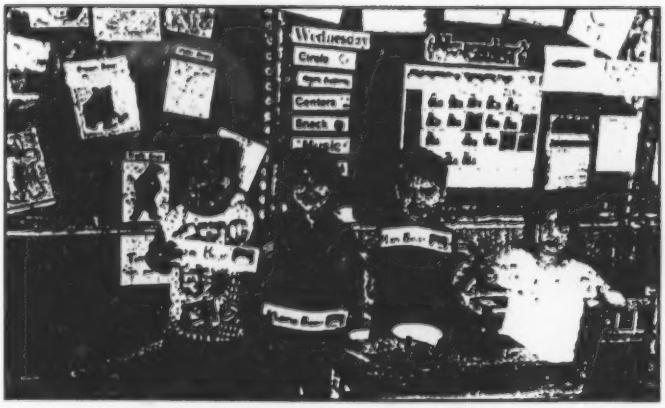
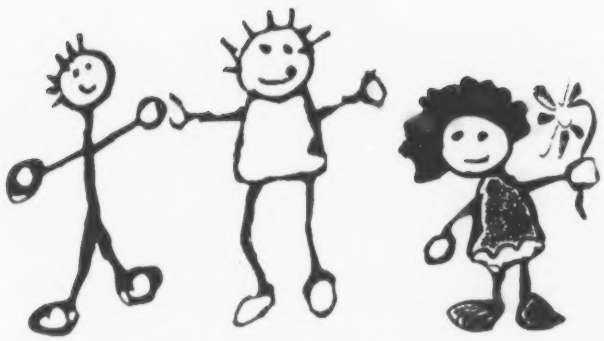


The authors wish to acknowledge Human Resources Development Canada, Employability and Partnership Division for their support and contribution to the national study. The views expressed in this document are solely those of the authors and key informant participants.

Notes

In our history it tells us of a prophecy of the seventh fire, fire representing time, eras. In that prophecy, it says that in the time of the seventh fire, as new people will emerge to retrace the steps of our grandfathers, to retrieve the things that were lost but not of our own accord. There was a time in the history of Anishnabe people we nearly lost all of these things that we once had as a people, and that road narrowed ... but today we strive to remind our people of our stories once again, to pick up that work that we as Anishnabe people know. It is our work and we ask no one to do that work, for it is our responsibility to maintain those teachings for our people.

Charles Nelson, Rosseau River, Manitoba, 8 December 1992, (Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, Vol. 1, 1996, pp. 617-618)



First Nations Quality Child Care: A National Study

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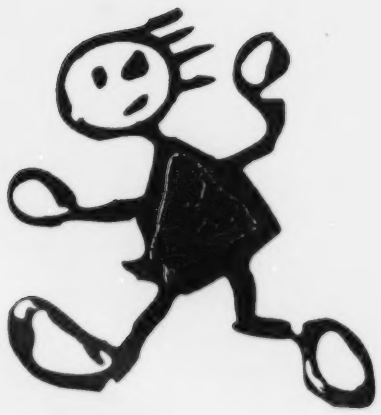
APPENDIX K

FIRST NATIONS QUALITY CHILD CARE
VOLUME 3 - BRITISH COLUMBIA, OCTOBER, 1999

first nations quality child care



Volume 3 – British Columbia, october 1999

"Grandfather, what is the purpose of life?"

after a long time in thought, the old man looked up and said,

"Grandson, children are the purpose of life.
We were once children and someone cared for us, and
now it is our time to care."

(Brokenleg & Brendtro, 1989)

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REFERENCES

1. Introduction

The First Nations Quality Child Care Study is a national project that examines First Nations definitions of 'quality child care'. The study also examines the role of provincial legislation in the delivery of child care services and First Nations authority in child care.

The research is being undertaken in three regions: British Columbia, Saskatchewan and Ontario. There are four stages to the study: a comprehensive literature review, key informant interviews, focus groups, and site visits.

The study will support First Nations communities in defining quality child care as well as identifying options for assuming authority in child care.

The goals of the study are:

- Identify the social, political and historical influences on First Nations child care services.
- Examine First Nations definitions of quality child care.
- Identify indicators of First Nations quality child care service.
- Create a framework for First Nations quality child care services.
- Examine how legislation is a barrier or support for First Nations quality child care.
- Identify the source and scope of First Nations authority in child care.

The purpose of the focus groups is to give as many people as possible an opportunity to participate in describing and defining quality care for their children as well as identifying options for First Nations authority in child care. This document is designed to assist participants in focus group discussions by providing them with background information.

2. First Nations Child Care in Canada - Milestones

1965	Canada/Ontario Agreement Respecting Welfare Programs for Indians
1966	Hawthorne Report
1980	Royal Commission on the Status of Women
1984	National Task Force on Child Care
1987	Special Committee on Child Care - Sharing the Responsibility
1988	National Commission on Aboriginal Child Care (NCC)
1988-1995	Child Care Initiatives Fund (HRDC)
1989	The National Inquiry into First Nations Child Care (AFN)
1990	Native Child Care: The Circle of Care (NCC)
1992	Bright Futures Initiative (Health Canada)
1993	Social Security Discussion Paper (HRDC)
1994	National Overview of First Nations Child Care in Canada (AFN)
	First Nations and Inuit Child Care Initiative announced (HRDC)
	Aboriginal Head Start Initiative announced for Northern and Remote Communities Off Reserve (Health Canada)
1996	Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples
1997	National Children's Agenda
1998	Aboriginal Head Start announced for On Reserve (Health Canada)
	National Child Benefit Program

NCC - Native Council of Canada HRDC - Human Resources Development Canada AFN - Assembly of First Nations

3. The Need For First Nations Child Care

In 1986, the Native Women's Association of Canada identified child care as a way to preserve culture and heal the family and community. In their presentation to the House of Commons they stated:

> The reason why child care is so important is because of the nature of our families, of the social economic conditions of our men and women.

The *National Inquiry into First Nations Child Care* prepared by the Assembly of First Nations (AFN) in 1989 stressed the importance of First Nations child care in providing children with an early sense of security, stability, motivation and pride. The report noted that First Nations view child care from a holistic perspective and that child care may be a vehicle for social change.

> First Nations envisage a major role for child care in undoing the damage already done ... (with) child care centres as foci for family healing ... (and) as the nuclei for community health in the best sense of the word. (p. 50)
>
> Above all, First Nations see the child care centre as the community core. Before Indians became a colonized people, children were at the heart of the community. First Nations would restore them to that place and in so doing restore themselves. First Nations have come full circle as the creator desires. (p. 50)

In the *Circle of Care* (1990) the Native Council of Canada viewed child care as a way to pass on culture and to create social change.

The *Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, Vol. 3* (1996) documents Aboriginal people as saying:

> Most important, [Aboriginal people] see early childhood [services] as a means of reinforcing Aboriginal identity, instilling the values, attitudes and behaviors that give expression to Aboriginal cultures. (p. 449)

4. The Vision

In the *First Nations/Inuit Child Care Program and Funding Framework* (1995) the Joint Working Group describe what child care services should teach.

> Children are viewed as a gift to us. Child care services for our children must be guided by the wisdom of the generations, by the values and beliefs of our people. These programs must nurture the development of healthy children, based on their emotional, spiritual, physical and mental needs. (p. 10)

In the *National Overview of First Nations Child Care in Canada* (1995) the Assembly of First Nations (AFN) describes a vision of quality and culturally appropriate First Nations child care service. Some of the principles identified by the AFN include:

- Because child care services are required at such a crucial time in a child's development, First Nations have the right to expect that the child care system will build upon the positive identity of our children.
- The care of First Nations children is first and foremost a parental responsibility. Parents must be involved in decisions concerning the operation and delivery of child care services.
- Services that are provided in First Nations communities must be culturally sensitive, nonprofit, comprehensive, accessible, high quality, affordable and administered by appropriate First Nations caregivers whenever possible.
- Quality child care to First Nations has a special meaning. Involvement of Elders with respect to Aboriginal languages and traditional values is an essential component in achieving quality care. There is a need to protect and redevelop the traditional aspect of child care particularly due to the "Mission School Syndrome".
- First Nations have an inherent right to develop and control their own child care systems. First Nations should develop national minimum standards for First Nations child care guidelines. Those guidelines must reflect First Nations values and traditions.

Diversity in Child Care

Children have a right to the culture into which they are born. For First Nations children this is a significant issue given the distinct beliefs, values and history of First Nations peoples. To be healthy individuals children must know who they are and where they come from. It is only with healthy individuals that we are able to achieve healthy communities and Nations.

As in all segments of society First Nations society is constantly shifting and changing. The Joint Working Committee noted in its document *First Nations/Inuit Child Care Program and Funding Framework* (1995) that:

> First Nations community life has changed dramatically. Lifestyle has changed from being internally driven and focussed on meeting basic family and community needs to that which is much more externally driven. Economic, political and social systems have been drastically altered, the role of the family has changed and basics such as health care, education, and housing look nothing like what was in place half a century ago. (p. 5)

In the last half of the 20th century there has been a greater ability to be mobile. This has meant larger numbers of First Nations people living outside their community of birth and the introduction of other cultures into First Nations communities. As First Nations deliver child care services in the hearts of their communities they will have to face the challenges of the interface between their values and beliefs and those of other world views.

6

5. British Columbia - What Currently Exists

FIRST NATIONS CHILD CARE IN BRITISH COLUMBIA[1]

The province of British Columbia licenses on reserve child care by invitation. As of September 1995 there were 14 licensed child care centres on reserves. By September 1998 there were a total of 48 licensed child care centres on reserves, and approximately 20 awaiting license approval.

The (B.C.) *Community Care Facility Act* and related regulations govern the licensing of child care services. Expenses for on reserve child care services are funded primarily through the First Nations/Inuit Child Care Initiative, while most centres also access provincial grants and subsidies for service delivery. Provincial grants and subsidies are governed by the B.C. *Benefits (Child Care) Act.*

PROVINCIAL CHILD CARE STANDARDS AND REGULATIONS IN BRITISH COLUMBIA

Outlined below is an overview of provincial child care regulations and standards.

Maximum Staff/Child Ratios and Group Sizes for Centre Based Care

Age	Staff/Child Ratio	Max. Group Size
0 - 3 yrs	1:4	12
30 mos - 6 yrs	1:8	25
Preschool	1:10	20
School-age	1:10-15	20-25
Special needs	1:4	16-20

[1] Source. Information in this section of the document is primarily taken from *Child Care in Canada Provinces and Territories 1995*, The Childcare Resource and Research Unit, 1997

7

Provincial Child Care Standards and Regulations...cont'd

Staff Qualifications Requirements
There are 3 categories of training:

Early childhood educator
Basic (at least 10 months) early childhood training program offered by an approved institution and 500 hours of supervised work experience.

Infant/toddler educator
Basic early childhood education program plus specialized training related to infant/toddler care and education.

Special needs educator
Basic early childhood education program plus special training related to children with special needs.

Group day care, under 36 months
Each group of 5 to 8 children requires one infant/toddler educator and one early childhood educator. Each group of 9 to 12 children requires one early childhood educator and one assistant.

Group day care 30 months to school age
Each group requires on early childhood educator plus assistants.

Out-of-school and child-minding
Staff must be older than 19 years and have taken a course on the care of young children or have relevant work experience.

Special needs
Special needs facilities (group care facilities where at least 25% of the children have special needs) require one special needs educator for every group of 4 or fewer children. Larger groups require one special needs educator plus early childhood educators.

Parent involvement
Not specified.

LICENSING, MONITORING AND ENFORCEMENT
The Ministry of Health, through the *Community Care Facility Act*, is responsible for licensing and monitoring child care facilities as well as developing policies and procedures specific to program licensing.

The local Medical Health Officer, issues interim permits and licenses. The officer also amends, suspends or cancels licenses, investigates complaints about programs, conducts inspections, and monitor programs.

New programs not in full compliance may be issued an interim license, providing the program with one year to come into compliance. After a year, a program with an interim permit will have a full license issued or licensing will be denied. Ministry of Health practice is to visit annually for license renewals but this is not legislated.

Conditions can be placed on the license where the operator does not comply with the standards. Licenses may be suspended or cancelled where children are placed in danger. The operator can request a hearing before the Director of the Community Care Facilities Branch, and then, if not satisfied, can go to the Provincial Community Care Facilities Appeal Board. The Band is composed of non-government members, including people from the child care field, and its decisions are binding.

REGULATED FAMILY DAY CARE
Regulation
Individually licensed. Unlicensed family day homes are eligible for subsidies like all other child care services.

Maximum Capacity
Up to 7 children under 12 years (including children living in the home). Of the 7 children, there may be no more than 5 pre-schoolers and 2 school-aged-children, no more than 3 children under 3 years of age, and no more than one child under one year.

Provider Qualification Requirements
Must be over 19 years and have a first aid certificate. There are no early childhood training requirements.

Licensing, Monitoring and Enforcement
Annual licensing visits are conducted by Ministry of Health licensing officers. An initial inspection by the Fire Marshall's office is required when a new home opens.

SOME STATISTICS TO CONSIDER

First Nations Population in British Columbia for 1982 - 1997

	1982[2]		1996		1997[3]	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
ON RESERVE	37,807	63.5	52,046	51.5	54,593	52.3
OFF RESERVE	21,736	36.5	50,029	49.0	49,818	47.7
TOTAL POPULATION	59,543		102,075		104,411	

First Nations Population by Age Group 0-19, Gender, and Residence - 1997[3]

	On Reserve		Off Reserve		Total	
	Male (%)	Female (%)	Male (%)	Female (%)	Male (%)	Female (%)
0-4 yrs	2,390 (10.9)	2,230 (10.2)	1,782 (10.6)	1,652 (9.8)	4,172 (10.7)	3,882 (10.0)
5-9 yrs	3,273 (14.9)	2,956 (13.5)	2,520 (14.9)	2,290 (13.7)	5,793 (14.9)	5,246 (13.5)
10-14 yrs	3,040 (13.9)	2,840 (13.0)	2,235 (13.2)	2,227 (13.3)	5,275 (13.6)	5,067 (13.1)
15-19 yrs	2,718 (12.4)	2,467 (11.3)	2,099 (12.4)	2,052 (12.2)	4,817 (12.4)	4,519 (16.7)
TOTAL	11,421 (52)	10,493 (48)	8,636 (51)	8,221 (49)	20,057 (51.7)	18,714 (48.3)
TOTAL Both Gender	21,914 (56.5)		16,857 (43.5)		38,771 (100)	

[2] Source: DIAND, Basic Department Data, March 1998
[3] Source: DIAND Indian Register Population by Sex and Residence 1997, February

6. In the Words of the People - British Columbia

The following is a summary of B.C. key informant responses involved with the First Nations Quality Child Care - A National Study. Key informants included Elders, parents, caregivers, administrators and policy analysts.

INFLUENCES ON FIRST NATIONS CHILD CARE SERVICES

There are historical, political and social influences that may affect the development and delivery of First Nations child care services. Some of the influences identified by the key informants include:

1. **Historical**
   - Colonization of all forms has influenced our communities to a point where there is loss of cultural and traditional parenting skills, practices, values and principles.
   - Child day care centres are not traditional to communities. The shift of caring for children within the extended family to centre based care is new to communities.

2. **Social**
   - History, poverty and socio-economic conditions have led to numerous abuses and violence. Alcohol and drug abuse has resulted in children affected by Fetal Alcohol Syndrome, Fetal Alcohol Effect and developmental delays.
   - Many parents require need to be taught basic parenting skills. Often parents are children themselves.
   - Community members perceive child care services as babysitting rather than a service that is developmentally healthy for children.
   - The role of DIA in our communities has had a devastating effect. Welfare programs take away the desire to work and foster a continuation of the welfare cycle.

3. **Political**
   - It is politically correct to be involved in child care. Child care services offer a way to deal with the impact of residential schools.
   - Community politics has a significant impact on child care services. Because communities are family oriented decisions are often based on the family rather than on the needs of the child.
   - Frequent change of Chief and Council leaves child care service to the whim of whomever is on council.

FIRST NATIONS QUALITY CHILD CARE

First Nations quality child care would provide:

- A place where children are exposed to school readiness and motor skill development.
- Language and culturally related early childhood education activities for children.
- Programming that develops positive self-esteem, cultural pride and holistic readiness skills.
- A place where children are safe and feel loved.

ASPECTS OF QUALITY

Environment

- Materials and equipment found in a child care centre should reflect the community in which children live. It is important that child care centres incorporate toys and items made by community members.
- Reflecting the natural physical environment of the community is especially important to promote wholistic learning.

Caregivers

- Caregivers should be aboriginal. Aboriginal children relate to aboriginal caregivers and can identify with them.
- Caregivers need to be healthy, loving people who have gone through their own healing.

Programming

- Child care centres have a responsibility to deliver progams that reflect the traditional values and beliefs of the community and give opportunities for children to participate in traditional activities.
- There is a need to include in programing an opportunity for older siblings to help younger children.
- It is important that the content of teaching validates the community's culture.
- Children need to have an opportunity to participate in all types of learning activities that incorporate different learning styles and reflect positive development of children.

Parent/Community Involvement

- There is a need for parent involvement in the administration of child care services. It is often difficult to ensure consistent parental involvement.
- Parents and community members should also have opportunities for learning, for example, basic caregiving skills.

CURRENT LEGISLATIONS & FIRST NATIONS AUTHORITY IN CHILD CARE

Do services reflect assimilation policies?

Most respondents found policies to have an underlying goal of assimilation especially given that they are based on provincial legislation. Communities can get around the restrictive aspects of licensing, for example, by applying for variances within the existing legislation.

Supports created by legislation

Most respondents indicated that there were no supports in the existing child care legislation while others found the following supports:

- Facilitates the education of early childhood educators.
- Ensures safety for children, although it does go too far sometimes.
- Allows communities to access staff wage subsidies, parent subsidies.

Barriers created by legislation

Existing legislation presents the following barriers to First Nations communities:

- Standards with respect to traditional foods, criminal record checks, buildings, age groupings and fencing.
- Rigid and insensitive application of regulations by licensing officers.

First Nations responses to the barriers include:

- Ignoring provincial legislation, e.g., children involved in tradition activities, serving traditional food.
- *"Communities should take the attitude that the oppressor should be led to believe that the rules are being followed, but in fact the rules are broken so that the service is community relevant. This does not mean that safety should be compromised".*

Scope & Source of First Nations Authority in Child Care

The goal of jurisdiction is to preserve the traditions and culture of the community.

Traditionally children are a gift from the creator, they are a treasure that we must care for tenderly and carefully. This principle comes from the notion that everyone should be responsible for caring for a child.

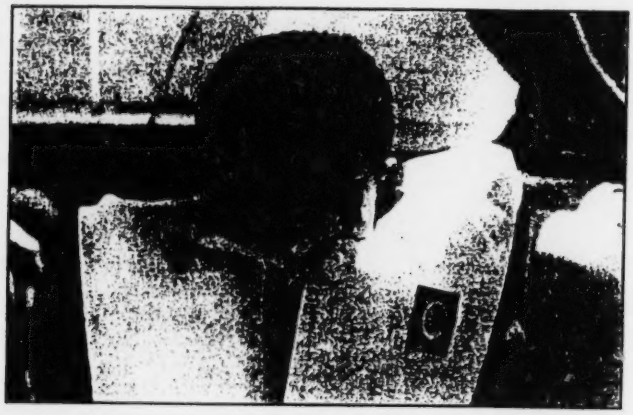
First Nations jurisdiction in child care means:

- Taking responsibility for child care services
- First Nations people running the child care centre guided by the community through local governance models.
- Involving chief and council, local tribal councils and community representatives.
- A right to have input into all areas of child care that would invol a different approach to the same rules and regulations.

The scope of First Nations Authority in child care involves:

- The traditional laws of our people
- Empowering the community to plan for child care, assess need and deliver actual care.
- Taking responsibility for the care of our children.

First Nations child care is an inherent right and not based on some other right like the Constitution Act, 1982.



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   - What First Nations values should be reflected in the authority?

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The authors wish to acknowledge Human Resources Development Canada Social Development Partnerships (Child Care Visions), Employability and Partnership Division for their support and contribution to the national stuc The views expressed in this document are solely those of the authors and k informant participants.

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> In our history it tells us of a prophecy of the seventh fire, fire representing time, eras. In that prophecy, it says that in the time of the seventh fire, as new people will emerge to retrace the steps of our grandfathers, to retrieve the things that were lost but not of our own accord. There was a time in the history of Anishnabe people we nearly lost all of these things that we once had as a people, and that road narrowed ... but today we strive to remind our people of our stories once again, to pick up that work that we as Anishnabe people know. It is our work and we ask no one to do that work, for it is our responsibility to maintain those teachings for our people.
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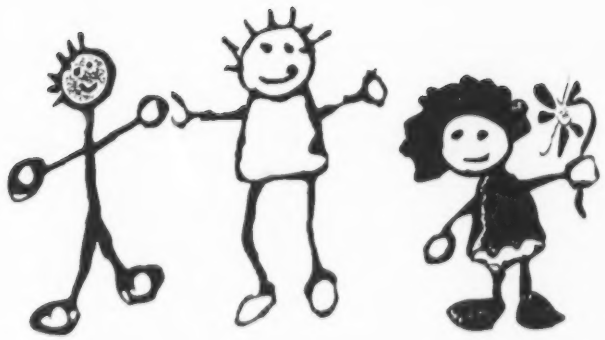
> *Charles Nelson, Rosseau River, Manitoba, 8 December 1992, (Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, Vol. 1, 1996, pp. 617-618)*



First Nations Quality Child Care: A National Study

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TABLE 2.4

Adjusted Aboriginal Identity Population by Region and Aboriginal Group, 1991

	North American Indian									
	Registered		Non-Registered		Métis		Inuit[3]		Total	
Region	#[1]	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Atlantic[2]	15,800	3.6	4,800	4.3	2,500	1.8	4,800	12.7	27,700	3.8
Quebec	43,700	10.0	9,800	8.7	9,100	6.5	7,200	19.0	69,300	9.6
Ontario	91,500	20.9	39,600	35.2	12,800	9.2	900	2.2	143,100	19.9
Manitoba	65,100	14.9	8,500	7.5	34,100	24.5	500	1.3	107,100	14.9
Saskatchewan	59,900	13.7	6,500	5.8	27,500	19.7	200	0.4	93,200	12.9
Alberta	60,400	13.8	18,400	16.3	39,600	28.4	1,400	3.7	118,200	16.4
British Columbia	87,900	20.1	23,800	21.1	9,400	6.7	500	1.4	120,700	16.7
Yukon[4]	4,400	1.0	500	0.4	200	0.1	—	0.2	5,100	0.7
Northwest Territories[4]	9,300	2.1	800	0.7	4,200	3.0	22,200	58.7	36,200	5.0
Total	**438,000**	**100.0**	**112,600**	**100.0**	**139,400**	**100.0**	**37,800**	**100.0**	**720,600**	**100.0**

Notes:

— population count is less than 100.

1. All counts are rounded to the nearest hundred.
2. The Inuit count for the Atlantic region is actually for Labrador. The APS reported an unadjusted Inuit count of 55 in Nova Scotia and in New Brunswick. These counts were flagged to be used with caution because of sampling variability.
3. To obtain estimated counts for the Inuit population (3,560) in regions other than Labrador, Quebec and the Northwest Territories, the 1991 APS unadjusted counts were used to derive the shares of the adjusted Inuit population in each remaining region.
4. The adjusted count of non-registered North American Indian and Métis populations in the Yukon and Northwest Territories were derived using their respective percentage shares in each territory based on unadjusted 1991 APS data.

Source: M.J. Norris, D. Kerr and F. Nault, "Projections of the Aboriginal Identity Population in Canada, 1991-2016", research study prepared for RCAP (1995).

Table 2

TABLE 2.3
Estimated Adjusted Registered North American Indian Identity Population Distribution by Linguistic/Cultural Grouping, 1991

Linguistic/ Cultural Grouping	Adjusted Identity Population		Linguistic/ Cultural Grouping	Adjusted Identity Population	
	number	per cent		number	per cent
Abenaki	1,385	0.3	Iroquois Confederacy	(35,910)	(7.3)
Algonquin	6,635	1.5	-Mohawk	25,175	5.7
Attikamek	3,320	0.8	-Cayuga	3,770	0.9
Beaver	1,390	0.3	-Oneida	4,395	1.0
Bella Coola	890	0.2	-Onondaga	780	0.2
Blackfoot	11,845	2.7	-Seneca	530	0.1
Carrier	6,260	1.4	-Tuscarora	1,260	0.3
Tsilhqot'n	2,060	0.5	Kaska	1,050	0.2
Coast Tsimshian	4,990	1.1	Kutenai	580	0.1
Comox	1,210	0.3	Kwakwa ka'wakw	4,440	1.0
Cree	137,680	31.4	Lillooet	3,790	0.9
Dakota	10,570	2.4	Maliseet	3,490	0.8
Delaware	1,400	0.3	Mi'kmaq	16,965	3.9
Dene Nation	(20,100)	(4.6)	Montagnais/Naskapi	10,530	2.4
-Chipewyan	9,230	2.1	Nisga'a	3,705	0.8
-Dogrib	2,545	0.6	Nootka	5,090	1.2
-Gwich'in	1,970	0.4	Ojibwa	94,350	21.5
-Hare	1,170	0.3	Okanagan	2,605	0.6
-Slavey	5,185	1.2	Potawatomi	140	0.03
Gitksan	4,210	1.0	Sarcee	900	0.2
Haida	2,560	0.6	Sechelt	695	0.2
Haisla	1,090	0.2	Sekani	745	0.2
Halkomelem	9,725	2.2	Shuswap	5,500	1.3
Han	445	0.1	Squamish	2,235	0.5
Heiltsuk	1,465	0.3	Straits	1,855	0.4
Huron	2,155	0.5	Tahltan	1,410	0.3
			Thompson	4,170	1.0
			Tlingit	1,425	0.3
			Tutchone	2,290	0.5
			Wet'suwet'en	1,705	0.4
			Total	438,000	99.6

Notes:

1. Information on the methodology and data sources used to prepare this table is found in note 24 at the end of this chapter.
2. Totals may not add because of rounding. All population counts have been rounded to 0 or 5.
3. Grand total does not include the Innu of Labrador, who were not registered under the *Indian Act*. The 1991 census reported 1,165 persons as Montagnais/Naskapi (or Innu) in Newfoundland and Labrador.

Source: See note 24 at the end of this chapter.

Table 3

TABLE 6.1
Aboriginal Languages in Canada

Family	Language	Family	Language
Aleut-Eskimo	Inuktitut	Wakashan	Nootka
[Isolate]	Tlingit		Nitinat
[Isolate]	Haida		Kwakiutl
Athapaskan	Dogrib		Bella Bella (Heiltsuk)
	Hare (North Slavey)		Kitanat-Haisla
	Beaver	Tsimshian	Tsimshian
	Sekani		Nisga'a
	Sarcee (Sarsi)		Gitksan
	Tsilhoqot'in	Siouan	Lakota - Dakota
	Carrier (Wet'suwet'en)		Nakota (Assiniboine, Stoney)
	Chipewyan	Iroquoian	Seneca
	Slavey (South Slavey)		Cayuga
	Yellowknife		Onondaga
	Kutchin (Gwich'in or Loucheux)		Mohawk
	Kaska		Oneida
	Tahltan		Tuscarora
[Isolate]	Kutenai	Algonquian	Blackfoot
Salishan		Algonquian	
Interior	Lillooet	*Cree*	Cree
	Shuswap		Montagnais-Naskapi-Attikamek
	Thompson (Ntlakyapamuk)	Algonquian	
	Okanagan	*Ojibwa*	Ojibwa
Salishan			Odawa (Ottawa)
Coastal	Songish		Algonquin (Algonkin)
	Semiahmoo		Saulteaux
	Cowichan	Algonquian	
	Comox	*Eastern*	Delaware
	Sishiatl (Sechelt)		Abenaki
	Bella Coola		Mi'kmaq
	Squamish		Maliseet

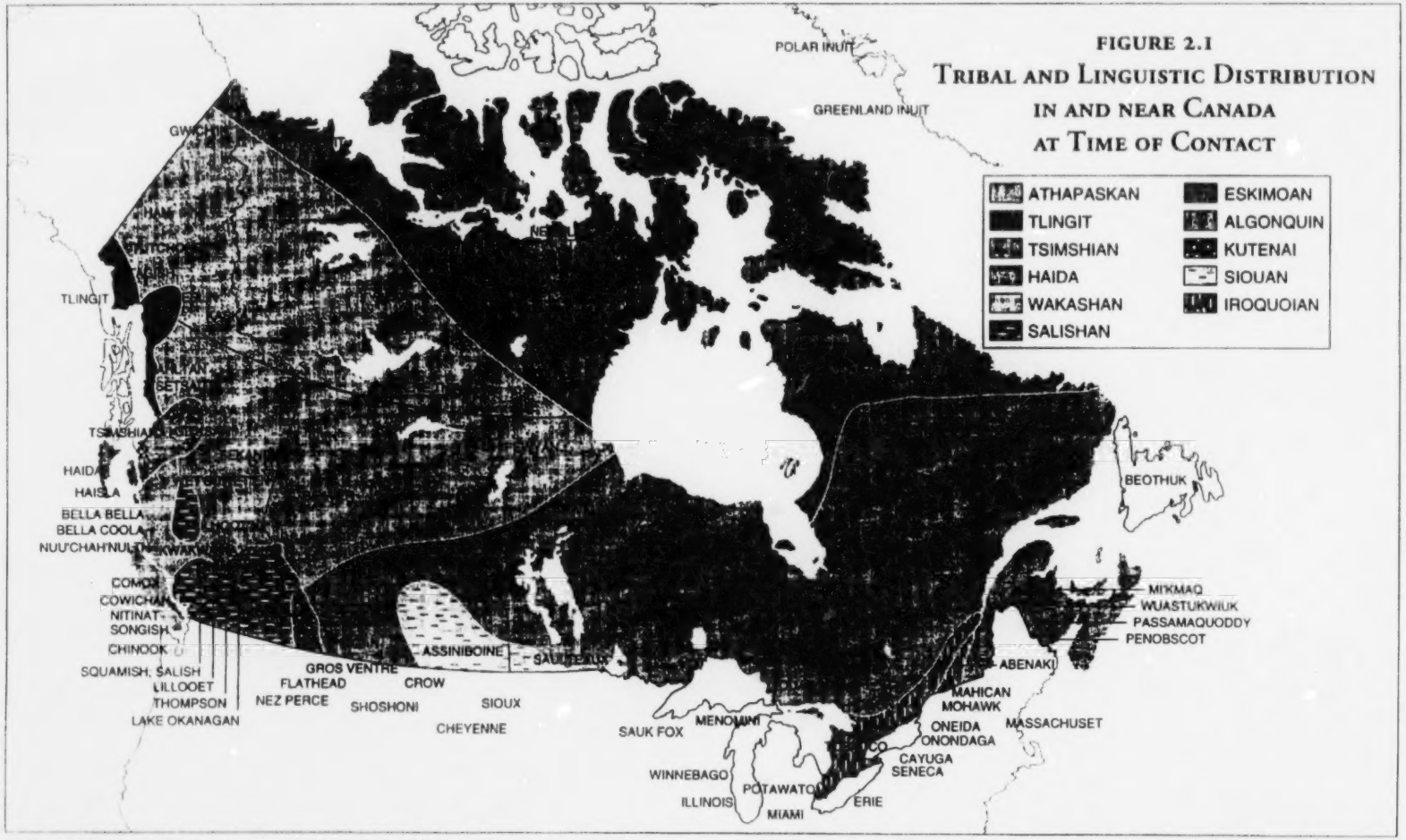
Notes:
[Isolate] = Language not belonging to any of the recognized language families.
Italics indicate sub-groupings within a family.

Source: Adapted from Jonathan D. Kaye. "The Indian Languages of Canada", in *The Languages of Canada* ed. J. Chambers (Montreal: Didier, 1979), pp. 15-19. See also Lynn Drapeau, "Perspectives on Aboriginal Language Conservation and Revitalization in Canada", research study prepared for the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples [RCAP] (1995).

TABLE 7.1

Comparison of Aboriginal Identity and Non-Aboriginal Populations in Urban Off-Reserve Areas, 1991

	Non-Aboriginal	Total Aboriginal	Registered NAI	Non-Registered NAI	Métis	Inuit[1]
Demography[2]						
Total Adjusted Population (#)	20,060,875	320,000	148,500	77,800	90,100	8,400
Male (%)	48.9	46.0	43.9	47.6	48.0	51.0
Female (%)	51.1	54.0	56.1	52.4	52.0	49.0
0-14 years (%)	19.7	36.6	33.4	41.0	37.5	42.0
15-24 years (%)	14.3	20.0	21.2	18.3	19.0	20.9
25-34 years (%)	18.5	19.7	20.6	18.5	19.6	17.1
35-54 years (%)	27.2	18.3	19.2	17.5	18.1	14.0
55+ years (%)	20.3	5.4	5.6	4.7	5.8	6.0
Lone parents[3] (%)	3.8	8.2	10.1	6.1	7.2	5.2
Language[3]						
Speak an Aboriginal language (age 5-14)	—	5.2	7.8	—	2.6	29.3
Speak an Aboriginal language (age 15+)	—	17.6	25.3	5.6	11.3	42.0
Would like to learn to speak an Aboriginal language (age 15+)	—	73.6	77.2	68.7	73.6	69.8



Note: The lines on the map separating the various tribal groups are not precise boundaries. The map provides a general picture of where populations were living at the time of first European contact.

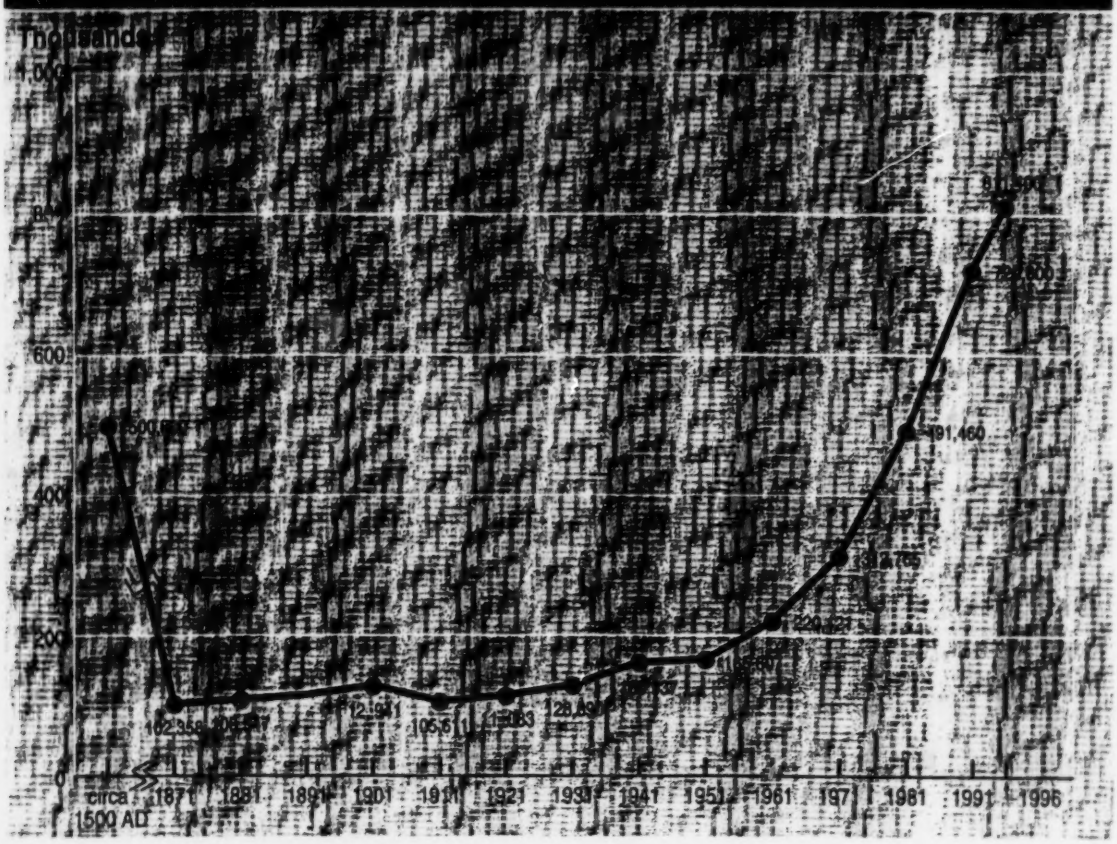
Source: Adapted from Olive P. Dickason, *Canada's First Nations: A History of Founding Peoples from Earliest Times* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart Inc., 1992), p. 65. Used with the permission of McClelland & Stewart Inc.

Figure 1

Graph 1

FIGURE 2.2

Aboriginal Population in Selected Years



Notes:

1. Population counts varied over the period 1871-1951 not only because of demographic change but also because of changes in Canada's geo-political boundaries. For a complete discussion see G. Goldmann (1993).
2. The 1991 and 1996 counts have been adjusted for undercoverage in the Aboriginal Peoples Survey. See M.J. Norris et al. (1995).

Source: Andrew J. Siggner, "The Socio-Demographic Conditions of Registered Indians", in *Arduous Journey: Canadian Indians and Decolonization,* ed. J. Rick Ponting (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1986), p. 57; Margaret Conrad, Alvin Finkel and Cornelius Jaenen, *History of the Canadian Peoples: Beginnings to 1867* (Mississauga: Copp Clark Pittman Ltd., 1993); Gustave Goldmann, "The Aboriginal Population and the Census: 120 Years of Information – 1871 to 1991", paper presented to the International Union for the Scientific Study of Demography, Montreal, August 1993; and Mary Jane Norris, Don Kerr and François Nault, "Projections of the Aboriginal Identity Population in Canada, 1991-2016", research study prepared for RCAP (1995).

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